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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº CVII. *APRIL* 1902.

ART. I.—ENGLISH CORONATIONS.

PART II.

1. *The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles I.* By CHR. WORDSWORTH. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1892.)
2. *The History of the Coronation of . . . James II.* By FRANCIS SANDFORD. (London, in the Savoy, 1687.)
3. *The Coronation Service according to the Use of the Church of England.* By the Rev. JOSEPH H. PEMBERTON. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1901.)
4. *The Great Solemnity of the Coronation of the King and Queen of England.* By DOUGLAS MACLEANE, M.A. With a note on the binding by CYRIL DAVENPORT, F.S.A. (London: Robinson, 1902.)
5. *The Coronation Service: its Teaching and History.* By F. C. EELES. (Oxford: Mowbray, 1902.)

And those works already quoted at the head of Part I.

V. IN our former article upon the Coronation Service, we traced its history down to the period when the Latin rite fell into disuse. We saw how, during the four periods of its development, it had grown from a service for the blessing of a

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king to one in which the king was consecrated; and also how it had come to be a ceremony conducted with the utmost splendour and pomp. We have now to examine the fate of the same service during the three hundred years that followed the extinction of the Latin rite. The time will be found to be one of change, of mutilation, and of degradation. First came the alteration of the language: a change, not only desirable, but an absolute necessity. We cannot say who translated the service; no records known to us remain upon which we can base any conclusion. But whoever the translator was, his work was sure to be fatal to *Liber regalis*: sooner or later the reformer would arise to alter the service according to his lights. For the office in the Latin rite was not remarkable for the beauty of its expressions; though the prayers might be ancient, yet their language was not always quite happy. Turned into English, the prayers disclosed their uncouth forms to all. And the method which the translator adopted was not calculated to soften this harshness. His aim seems to have been to produce as literal a translation as possible, for it is full of grotesque expressions, and generally is not a good exhibition of the versions of the early seventeenth century. But, unfortunate as this version is in many ways, its language is melodious when compared with that of some of the modern prayers which have been issued by Convocation for the use of the Church of England, and which betray the fact that liturgical composition and translation must be reckoned among the lost arts.

The ceremonies and structure of the service were nevertheless left unimpaired in 1603. James I.'s procession from the Tower did not, however, take place on the day before the coronation, owing to the sickness prevalent in the city; but the procession was considered of such importance that it was carried out about seven months after the coronation. The whole *raison d'être* of the procession was, of course, gone when the king had been anointed and crowned, and this was doubtless felt under Charles I., when the sickness in London prevented his riding from the Tower, for it appears that his progress did not take place at all. Charles II., however, rode on the day before his coronation from the Tower to West-

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minster, in company with his prelates and nobles, in the manner which had been prescribed by the *Liber regalis.*

The coronation progress through London was a ceremony which had a very clear meaning. It took place on the day before the coronation, and in it the king rode, and, so to speak, asked the votes of his subjects against the election the next day. He showed himself to the people as their future king, in some cases clothed in white as a candidate, so that they might, if they wished, elect him the next day. It is a part of the constitutional election of the king; and to have a progress, as did James I., seven months, or, as it has been announced will be the case next June, one day after the coronation, is not only to show an ignorance of the history of the coronation progress, but to strip it of all meaning.

The first three Stuart kings were all elected by their peers in Westminster Hall, and formed the central figures of a procession thence to the Abbey, where the same rites were performed and the same prayers offered as in *Liber regalis.* In a few details, however, we can see evidences of change. James I. was reported to have been anointed otherwise than in the form of a cross; but this was revived under Charles I., and has been continued ever since. The anointing, too, was with chrism only, although the king was anointed on the five places as in *Liber regalis.* This change was doubtless due to the fact that since the Reformation the oils were no longer blessed on Maundy Thursday, and, as the oil used for James I. would appear to be the old oil of Henry IV., it is likely that the persons then in authority took the oil which was found in the Tower, and did not care to consecrate any simple oil. Under Charles I. and II. a new chrism was made, which was to be blessed by a Bishop of the Chapter of Westminster, or by the Archbishop, on the morning of the coronation.

The order for James I. seems to have been the whole of the service of the *Liber regalis* very faithfully followed. This was not so exactly reproduced at Charles I.'s coronation. It appears that then several of the prayers said before unction were not read. *Deus ineffabilis, Benedic Domine hunc regem* and *Deus qui populis* were all omitted. Thus of the six prayers directed by *Liber regalis* to be said before the anointing, only

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three appear to have been used.[1] At Charles II.'s coronation all the prayers were said except *Deus ineffabilis*, against which a prejudice existed, as we are told. It was supposed not to have been said since Henry VI.'s time, and to contain clauses which attributed undue spiritual powers to the king. The charge, as Sancroft afterwards discovered, was groundless, as the clauses objected to are not to be found in the prayer at all.

In Charles I. and Charles II.'s orders the superstitious exorcism of the ring was omitted; but in the blind following of the *Liber regalis* under James I., this prayer, which savours not a little of the Manichaean heresy, appears to have been duly said.

It had been customary, before the seventeenth century, for the king to wear under his parliament robe a shirt of white silk, and over it a shirt of red silk, both of which had slits made in them at the places of unction. The outer shirt of red silk, called the tunic of St. Edward, was not worn by James I. nor by Charles I. Men remembered the effect that was caused by Charles appearing all in white when he was stripped for the anointing; but the similar appearance of James I. had not struck them so much, and had been forgotten. When misfortune came upon Charles, they called to mind how

'his Majesty on that day was cloathed in *White*, contrary to the custom of his Predecessors, who were . . . clad in *Purple* . . . to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be espoused unto his Kingdom. . . . This some looked on also as an ill presage[2] that the King, laying aside his *Purple*, the Robe of Majesty, should cloath himself in *White*, the Robe of *innocence*, as if thereby it were fore-signified that he should devest himself of that Regal Majesty which might and would have kept him safe from affront and scorn, to rely wholly upon the innocence of a vertuous life, which did expose him finally to a calamitous ruine.'

Another omen of misfortune, as was afterwards thought, was the text of the Bishop of Carlisle's sermon at Charles' corona-

[1] *Te invocamus, Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator*, and *Electorum fortitudo.*

[2] P. Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, London, 1668, p. 145.

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tion, which was 'more proper for a Funeral than a Coronation. . . . viz., *I will give thee a crown of life.*'[1]

The coronation of Charles I. derived considerable notoriety from the charges which in later years were made against Laud in connexion with the preparation of the service. Laud was Bishop of St. David's and Canon of Westminster, and acted for the Dean of Westminster at the coronation; and rightly or wrongly he was considered to be the person most responsible for the drafting of the coronation service. He was unjustly accused of having introduced new formulae into the service, especially in the prayer *Deus ineffabilis* and in *Sta et retine.* The former prayer, as we have seen, so far from having any new matter put into it, was not said at all. But a more serious accusation was that he had tampered with the coronation oath. He was charged with having added in the first clause the qualifying phrase, 'according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogatives of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of the realm.' Laud's defence was that he had taken it from the coronation service of James I., and from the book which the King held in his hand. A book which answers this description somewhat closely is to be seen in the Lambeth Library[2]; but it does not contain the additional clause. Nor does the transcript taken from the king's book by Ashmole[3] contain this clause. Laud, however, mentions that Archbishop Abbott lent him two copies of James I.'s coronation, the one handsomely bound, and which the king had held, the other in paper covers, 'and unworthy for a King's hand.' Now it is only likely that after the lapse of nineteen years Laud should have forgotten whether he took this clause from the fine or from the mean book, for he expressly says that one of these two copies did contain the clause of which the Commons complained. Now, at the Heralds' College there is a contemporary copy of the coronation order of James I., which, although now bound up with a number of other documents, is in paper covers. This copy of the coronation of James I.

[1] P. Heylin, *op. cit.* p. 144.

[2] MS. 1075 B. [3] Bodleian Library, Ashm. 863, p. 261.

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contains the oath, as is usual in the copies of this order, in Latin, French, and English. The French version of the first clause contains no addition. At the end of the first clause in the Latin version are the words *et secundum, &c.*; while at the end of the first clause in the English version of the oath is the 'addition' in full. This suggests that the 'addition' was known in 1603, and acquits Laud of the charge of having himself made this insertion into the coronation oath. It may make clear a point which Mr. Christopher Wordsworth had not been able to elucidate very exactly: namely, that Laud really had the precedent of a copy of James I.'s order for this 'addition.' Mr. Wordsworth was only able to rely on Laud's own account of the matter; but Laud's memory in 1644 had become clouded by the lapse of time. He was not always quite exact in his statements, for when he was charged with having altered *Sta et retine* by the introduction of phrases out of the Roman Pontifical, he admitted the charge; though we can see that the charge was as baseless as those other accusations against him which we have been examining.

VI. With the accession of James II. begins the period of mutilation. It is a curious coincidence that when *Liber regalis* fell into final disuse in 1685, the procession from the Tower to Westminster was also abandoned. It has never been revived, though in these days it might with advantage be adapted so as to form part of the spectacular ceremonies of the coronation. This was the first step in the pruning process which the coronation has since undergone. The ceremonies on the coronation day itself still remained unimpaired; there was still retained the elevation in Westminster Hall, the procession, the service, and the banquet. The magnificent edition of the coronation of James II. which Sandford issued has unfortunately done much to attract attention to James II.'s coronation; but the unique character of its mutilated rite removes it very far from the ideal which should be followed.

We must now pass on to consider the changes in the rite which resulted from the accession of James II. The accession of a Roman Catholic sovereign brought disaster to the fourth recension, which now, after having been in use for more than three centuries and a half, was finally abandoned.

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The king looked with contempt and horror upon the services of the Church of England, and in all probability was anxious to dispense with them. The time, however, had not yet come when the coronation was to be looked on as a popular entertainment, and James was compelled to seek absolution from the Pope for having received unction at the hands of a non-Roman bishop. But the king gave orders to Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, 'to leave out the Communion Service, and to abridge (as much as conveniently might be) the extreme length of the rest, preserving notwithstanding the forme of the Coronation Oath (and other the most essentiall things) unaltered.'[1] It must be owned that Sancroft eagerly seized the opportunity, and the result was scarcely of the best. That he intended to make a good piece of work, all will testify who have worked through the pages on pages of notes and questions on the coronation service, which are among his papers in the Tanner Collection at Oxford. But unfortunately his acquaintance with the orders was limited; though he studied what books he had to his hand with the utmost energy.[2] But his lack of knowledge of the history of the coronation office caused him to fall into errors. The old idea that the consecratory prayers should immediately precede the unction was laid aside, if it was ever understood. *Te invocamus* and *Electorum fortitudo* were, indeed, said before the

[1] The original letter to Sancroft under the king's sign manual approving the service may be seen in Bodl. Tanner MS. 31, fo. 35.

[2] We can tell what manuscripts Sancroft used, not only from the notes he made in his own paper, where he quotes his authorities, but from the traces of his work which he has left on the manuscripts themselves. The *Liber regalis* at Westminster, which the kings of England held in their hand from Richard II. to Elizabeth, bears marks of his attention to it. But the manner in which he treated the book which Charles I. held in his hand at his coronation was little short of criminal. The pages have been so annotated by him, that it is sometimes difficult to decipher the original text. It is also clear that he was acquainted with an earlier recension than the *Liber regalis*; for he copied the rubrics and the catchwords of the prayers out of a Winchester Pontifical (Tanner MS. 31, fo. 91). This destroys an excuse which might possibly have been made for him, on the ground that he knew only one recension of the coronation service, and that comparison with an earlier order would have told him the nature of the prayers with which he was dealing.

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unction, but *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator* and *Deus qui populis* were moved far out of their original places. For Sancroft moved the Litany from the place which it held in the old recension, where it came after *Veni Creator* and *Te invocamus*, and put it after the first oblation, while the sermon followed the Litany. In doing this, the two prayers *Deus qui populis* and *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator* were torn from their proper places after *Veni Creator* and put at the end of the Litany, where they were used like 'prayers and thanksgivings upon several occasions.' The arrangement of the prayers is to be regretted, though perhaps the new position of the Litany was more comprehensible to English ideas. In the old arrangement, the Litany broke in upon the consecration of the king in a somewhat awkward manner: and Sancroft put it immediately after the first oblation, so that it appeared to be an introduction to another service, as it generally is in the Prayer Book. But his change of the position of the consecratory prayers more than counterbalanced the good which the change of the position of the Litany effected. If there was one merit in *Liber regalis*, it was its clearness of arrangement. The recognition, sermon, and oath were at once disposed of as preliminaries which had to be concluded before the king could be consecrated. After these matters had been satisfactorily settled, the king was consecrated and the service proceeded. But Sancroft's new arrangement produces a confusion, in which prayers consecrating the king are said before the king has taken the oath. It is probable, however, that Sancroft was not the first person who imagined that these consecratory prayers were a part of the Litany. In the coronation order of James I., after the direction to insert into the Litany the clause for the king, we find this rubric: '*At the end of the Litany shall be said these Prayers*,' and at the end of the prayers, before the consecratory preface, there is another rubric: '*The Litany being ended, the Archbishop beginneth aloud to say*.' This suggests that the compilers of James I.'s order imagined that the consecratory prayers were a part of the Litany, and they probably intended them to be said instead of the prayers for the Royal family, which were said then before the prayer of St.

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Chrysostom. Sancroft, therefore, when he rearranged the service, transplanted these consecratory prayers along with the Litany, and was probably following an idea which had been prevalent in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It may be some palliation for the havoc that he wrought in this ancient service, when we consider that he was perhaps misled by his predecessors. In most other respects Sancroft followed the arrangement of *Liber regalis*, until the ceremonies connected with the Eucharist were reached. As the Eucharist had to be omitted by the king's command, the second oblation had either to be also omitted, or else introduced in a maimed manner at some unsuitable place. The proper place was of course the offertory, and any other time was somewhat unnatural. Nevertheless, the mark of gold was offered at the end of the investiture,[1] though the oblation of bread and wine was of course omitted.

The main changes, however, took place in the wording of the prayers. It cannot be denied that Sancroft in most cases improved the language, though the new ending to *Accipe virgam virtutis* was distinctly unfortunate. In the work of 'smoothing' the words of the coronation service he was aided by the experience he had gained in the revision of the Prayer Book,[2] and he was probably the fittest man for the task then living. But he was not uniformly successful. Besides omitting some of the ancient consecratory prayers, he 'abridged' the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator* with such vigour that he destroyed any rhythm or cadence which it had before; and he consistently changed the prayers which asked for a blessing on the ornaments into prayers for a blessing on the king who was to wear the ornaments. We can only conjecture what reason he had for this somewhat unnecessary change, which in no way 'abridged' the service.

Another change which showed that he was unacquainted with the history of the *regalia* was his introduction of a

[1] The term 'investiture *per anulum et baculum*,' which still persists, appears to be an invention of Sancroft's.

[2] Most of the corrections, marginal and otherwise, in the 'Book Annexed' and in the 'Convocation Book' are in Sancroft's hand.

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delivery of the orb at the time of the delivery of the imperial pall. He was no doubt guided by the words of the delivery of the pall for his introduction of the orb at this point. The orb had come to be the symbol of the monarchy of this world, and the most suitable place for its delivery seemed no doubt to be at the delivery of the mantle 'formed with four corners, to let thee understand that the four corners of the world are subject to the power of God.' Sancroft omitted the reference to the four corners of the mantle, and applied the meaning of the mantle to the mantle and orb. But in so doing he was acting altogether under a misapprehension. When the *regalia* was renewed in 1660 an orb was made by order of the Committee, who remembered an orb among the old *regalia*. This orb was carried in the procession of Charles II.'s coronation, and it appears to have been delivered to the king as the sceptre with the cross.[1] But Sancroft was at a loss to account for the presence of the orb among the *regalia*, and introduced into the service a new delivery, that of the orb as distinct from the sceptre. The explanation of the whole matter seems to be as follows. Before the destruction of the *regalia* the orb and the sceptre with the cross were considered one and the same ornament. Descriptions of coronations and pictures make this of little doubt. But by 1649 there had grown up, perhaps under the Tudors, a duplicate set of *regalia*. Just as there were two crowns, so there were two sceptres and two rods. One set of these was called the *regalia* of St. Edward, and was kept at Westminster; the other was the king's private property. One of the sceptres with the cross was in the form of an orb, while the other was approximately the same shape as the present sceptre with the cross. It never occurred to the Committee of 1660 that two ornaments, so unlike in shape, could really be the same, and they therefore ordered two sceptres with the cross to be made, while they only ordered one rod with the dove. So Sancroft introduced the delivery of the orb, and the change was not an improvement. One of the maxims of the coronation service is that when once

[1] *The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.*, ed. W. Bray and H. B. Wheatley, London, 1879, ii. 130.

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a royal ornament has been delivered to the king it remains on him or near him till the end of the service. One exception may be found in the case of the sword; but not only is the sword carried near the king for the rest of the service, but the surrender of the sword by the king is an act of oblation to God, and it would be quite possible for the king to wear the sword to the end of the service. But the orb is in a different position. The king has to give it up because he cannot conveniently hold two things in one hand, and when he gives it up he merely delivers it to the Dean of Westminster, to be replaced upon the altar. The delivery of this ornament has an appearance of temporariness: there is no idea inspired by this ceremony that the orb is one of the permanent symbols of royalty which are delivered to the king. But perhaps the greatest confusion between the sceptre and orb comes at the end of the service. Charles II., instead of carrying the sceptre and the rod when proceeding from Westminster Abbey to Westminster Hall, carried only the sceptre. This precedent would have been carried out again at James II.'s coronation, but Sancroft, apparently eager to bring the orb into prominence, put it into the other hand of the king; so that the king carries the same mark of royalty in both hands.

In our last article we discussed the question of the custom of acclaiming the king at the act of coronation. We will just mention the matter here in passing, because it is in Sancroft's recension of the service that the custom appears for the first time in the rubrics. It is most probable that it is an innovation. Evelyn, who gives a very good account of the coronation of Charles II., mentions only the music. By this he presumably alludes to the singing of the anthem, 'The king shall rejoice,' which followed the reading of *Confortare* by the archbishop. At the same time it is well to remember that arguments from the silence of eye-witnesses must be accepted with caution; but the silence of the rubrics, coupled with Evelyn's, suggests that there was no acclamation at the crowning of Charles II.

VII. But it was not the material harm which Sancroft did to the service which was so unfortunate, though it was

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considerable: it was the bad example that he set. As Dr. Wickham Legg has pointed out,[1] 'it showed to rash hands how easy it was to destroy the ancient character of the coronation order,' and this bad example was very shortly afterwards followed. When James II. left the country, and William and Mary succeeded to the throne, it fell to the lot of Henry Compton, an ex-officer of the Horse Guards, who had become Bishop of London, to reconstruct the service. There was some talk at the time of restoring the old service which had been used for the first three Stuarts.[2] But Compton seems to have decided that changes should be made more drastic even than Sancroft's. The whole service underwent a complete transformation. Thus the old *Liber regalis*, which had lasted for the space of three hundred and fifty years, was, in the short space of four years, made almost unrecognizable, at the hands of two prelates. A return was made, unconsciously in all likelihood, to the arrangement of the first recension, by which the service, like that of the consecration of a bishop, was encased in the Eucharist. This arrangement was evidently adopted to prevent the scandal which had occurred at the last coronation, when James II. had refused to receive Communion.

Another great change was the reconstruction of the Coronation Oath. The oath was completely altered from the old oath of the *Liber regalis* and Stuart orders. The vague promise made by the king to observe the Laws of St. Edward now became an oath against absolute government, couched in most precise terms; and the old petition for protection, which used to be read by a bishop, became a clause incorporated in the oath itself. By this the king is to 'maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law.' The reason for all this was that the method adopted by James II. for the government of England had opened men's eyes to the looseness of the wording of the old oath. John Evelyn wrote to Sancroft in October 1688, and pointed out that in all James's

[1] *Three Coronation Orders*, p. xix.
[2] *Ibid.* p. xx.

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'declarations &c. . . . there is not once the least mention of the *Reformed* or *Protestant Religion*, but onely of the *Church of England as by Law established*, which Church the Papists tell us is the *Church of Rome*, which is (say they) the Catholic Church of England that onely is establish'd by Law; the Church of England in the Reformed sense so established is by an usurp'd authority. The antiquity of *that* would by these words be explained, and utterly defeate this false and subdolous construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever; if in all extraordinary offices, upon these occasions, the words *Reformed* and *Protestant* were added to that of the *Church of England by Law established*.'[1]

And that this ambiguity of expression was perceptible to most men is clear from the preamble to the Act of Parliament which altered the oath. This preamble ran as follows:—'Forasmuch as the Oath itselfe on such Occasion Administered hath heretofore beene framed in doubtfull Words and Expressions with relation to ancient Laws and Constitutions at this time unknowne.'[2] The demands contained in the oath therefore were more clearly defined, and the vague references to the 'Laws of St. Edward' and to 'the holy Church' were explained. The oath has been verbally altered from time to time in accordance with the constitutional changes made by the Acts of Union, but the form has remained the same and cannot be changed except, of course, by Act of Parliament.

We will now examine this recension more in detail. Its interest for us is greater than that of the preceding orders, for it is this order of Compton's which has served as the basis of the coronation services from that time till Queen Victoria's. As in James II.'s order, after the election in Westminster Hall, the procession is formed to the church; and the arrangement has been apparently the same since the time of James II. Anthems are sung during the procession, but on entering the church the anthem has nearly always been 'I was glad when they said unto me.'

The service proper begins with the recognition or election

[1] *Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.*, Bray and Wheatley, London, 1879, iii. 56 *n.*

[2] 1 Will. and Mary, c. 6.

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by the first and third estates. Then follows the first oblation and the Litany. At the end of the Litany one of the consecratory prayers, *Deus qui populis*, has usually been said. After the Litany the archbishop begins the Communion service as far as the Nicene Creed. This is followed by the sermon and the oath. *Veni Creator* is then sung: the only feature of the old consecration of the king left in its proper place. It is followed by the consecration of the oil, now no longer chrism, but plain olive oil. The consecration of the oil at this point is a very new feature. Before the Revolution the oil was blessed either on Maundy Thursday, as in pre-Reformation times, or, as was done at the Stuart coronations, on the morning of the coronation. The form used is the old preface *Electorum fortitudo*, changed from a preface consecrating the king into a prayer blessing the oil. The king is then anointed in three, or even two places, instead of five, as formerly. It will be noticed that the arrangement of the consecration of the king in the space of these four years lost all its definition and clearness. Of the six prayers said in *Liber regalis* at this point only two remain, one of which, torn from its proper place, is said at the end of the Litany before the Eucharist is begun, before the sermon, and even before the king has been bound by an oath. Part of the consecration is thus said before the king has fulfilled all the conditions required of him. The other is no longer a prayer blessing the king, but a prayer consecrating the oil; even its form is not the same; it is no longer a preface, but a collect.

After the unction, the prayer *Deus Dei Filius* is said, and the king is invested in the royal and episcopal robes. Though these robes have always been provided, it would appear that George III. only wore the *pallium regale* and armil, dispensing with the investiture with the *colobium sindonis* and tunicle of St. Edward. Another interesting feature about the recent coronations is that, although the smaller ornaments, such as the coif, have not been worn, yet they were ordered as late as the time of George IV. Here, again, we have that copying of the last coronation which has ensured so marked a retention of the ancient forms and ceremonies, and which

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led to the shirt of George IV. being made with slits in the arms and back for unction at those places, although for nearly a century and a half no king of England had been anointed elsewhere than on the hands, head, and breast.

After the investiture with the tunicle of St. Edward follows the girding on with the sword. Queen Anne appears to have been girded, but Queen Mary II. does not appear to have received any sword at all, just as she received no robes of St. Edward, as was her right. Then follows the delivery of the armil, which under the Georges was accompanied by a form of words. The royal mantle or *pallium regale* is then delivered together with the orb. Thus Sancroft's misunderstanding of this ornament has been perpetuated. The chief change in the detail of the service comes at this point. From the second to the fifth recension the golden ornaments were delivered in this order—crown, ring, sceptre, and rod. For some reason, Compton changed the order to ring, sceptre, rod, and crown. The crown had been delivered last in the first recension, but it is exceedingly unlikely that Compton's education as a soldier would have led him to discover this precedent for his change. At any rate, it is not difficult to see that the change is an improvement. Another change which was made was the delivery of the Holy Bible by the bishops to the king, which was inserted after the delivery of the crown. It is strange that an act such as this, which brings out with greater clearness the parallel between the consecration of a bishop and the consecration of a king, should have been introduced at the Revolution. Still, it is not the only feature in this recension by which the ecclesiastical claims of the king were emphasized with some force. The prayer blessing the oil asks, without any disguise of words, that by the oil the king may be endued with the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost, and thus the sacramental character of the unction, far from being hidden or thrust into the background, is put forward and claimed in much more distinct a manner than was ever done in the former recensions. So also this delivery of the Bible filled up one of the gaps in the completeness of the similarity of the episcopal to the royal ordination. The Bible was delivered

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with a formula which must commend itself but little to modern taste. Apart from the strange exordium by which we are given to understand that the hand is the organ of speech, the composition is long, and even garrulous. But at George IV.'s coronation and subsequently, the long quotation from Deuteronomy and the illustration from the life of Jehoash have been omitted; the Bible is now given to the king, while the archbishop pronounces the rhapsody with which Compton's address originally ended. Then follows the benediction, which in general was the same as that which Sancroft composed for James II., although verbal alterations have been made, notably, when, at William IV.'s coronation, a certain niceness caused the clause for posterity to be omitted. This blessing is followed by *Te Deum*, the inthronization, and *Sta et retine*, now considerably modified from the old address which told the king that he was the 'mediator betwixt the clergy and the laity.' Fealty and Homage are then done by the Spirituality and Temporality, after which follows the coronation of the queen-consort, if there be one. If not, the archbishop proceeds with the Communion service, after which the king retires to St. Edward's Chapel, and when he has taken off his robes of St. Edward and has put on a parliament robe and the crown of estate, he returns to Westminster Hall for the banquet.

VIII. The last period, that of degradation, opens with the reign of King William IV.[1] At the accession of this king, it was held in responsible quarters that monarchy was an institution which required much economy, and the ceremonies were arranged with a view to obtain cheapness at the expense of no matter what else. Consequently, the election in Westminster Hall was abandoned because the procession thence was a costly matter. We pointed out in our last article the importance of this election by the second estate in Westminster Hall, and we venture to express regret that our King's advisers have not been able to recommend that the

[1] The order for Queen Victoria may be seen in a cheap and handy form in Mr. Pemberton's book on *The Coronation Service*; and also with notes on the last few coronations in Mr. Macleane's *Great Solemnity of the English Coronation.*

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whole nation should 'recognize' or elect the King in the manner which is the peculiar privilege of each estate. As the coming coronation is at present arranged, the King will be 'recognized' only by the first and third estate. The second estate, it appears, will have no distinctive voice in the matter. Further, by this arrangement, the service no longer begins in Westminster Hall; it has lost its liturgical procession, and now only begins at the west door of the Abbey.

Also in the service itself there were changes of detail. These may seem small, but they show that there was then a desire to depress the coronation as much as possible; to get through the service with as little trouble or pains as might be. Such details are the reduction of the number of places anointed to two; the omission of the girding with the sword, which was merely given into the sovereign's hand to hold; the disappearance of the silken cloth held before the King at Communion, one of the few instances in our Church where the 'houselling cloth' had been retained; the excision of the rubric that the king should kiss the bishops who have performed the ceremony; the use of the crown of estate instead of that of St. Edward for the act of crowning. All these little changes betoken a lowering of the conception of the object and meaning of the coronation. Finally, because the ceremony of election in Westminster Hall was omitted, the banquet, which should have taken place in Westminster Hall, was given up, not because, as might now be plausibly advanced, the peerage had become so swollen that there would not be room for all the peers and peeresses to dine there, but because it was expensive, and because it was thought that a mutilated and degraded coronation would be popular. As it was, we learn from Greville that everybody grumbled at the curtailment of the ceremonies,[1] though he adds that all were pleased when it was over. Consequently it is not surprising that William IV. did not receive an enthusiastic reception on his way to the Abbey.[2] Evidently it was

[1] *A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.*, London, 1874, ii. p. 193.

[2] *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, ed. Francis Darwin, London, 1887, i. p. 209.

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felt at Queen Victoria's coronation that more should be done than at William IV.'s, so a 'cavalcade' was arranged from Buckingham Palace to Westminster. Still the arrangements were ordered to be 'as much abridged and as economical as might be compatible with a strict regard to the solemnity and importance of the occasion,' and the ceremonies in Westminster Hall and the procession were both omitted, to the great indignation of the people of London, who complained bitterly of the 'Penny Crowning.' The idea of having a procession through the streets on the day of the service can only be regarded as astonishing; for the coronation service must be most exhausting to the principal personage, and to this was added the fatigue of acknowledging the salutations of people spread along a lengthy route.

The service, as it now stands, is open to the same criticism as in 1685 and 1689. The separation of the consecration from the anointing by the first part of the Communion service, the sermon, and the oath has already been pointed out as a serious blemish. So also the delivery of the orb in addition to the sceptre with the cross is one of those errors which have been perpetuated since 1685. But though the arrangement of the coronation service is open to criticism on these points; yet it cannot be denied that the new position which it has received since 1689 in being inserted within the Communion service is an improvement. Nor can there be any doubt that the new order of delivering the *regalia*, ring, sceptre, rod, crown, and Bible, is better, though possibly it may be true that it has tended to make the crowning seem to be, in the eyes of the public, the most important act of the service. We may regret that the form of *Electorum fortitudo* has been changed from a preface into a collect, but there is reason for satisfaction that even in 1689 this trace of the old idea of consecration of the king was left, in that during this prayer, after the oil has been blessed, the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost are invoked in the same form as in Confirmation. As we have already noted, never before was the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the king so clearly taught as it has been since 1689; although it was previously hinted at very frequently. As to the wording of the

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prayers, there is no doubt that a great improvement has been, in general, effected. The prayers, such as are left, are not so grating as in former times, and may, with the exception of the formula wherewith the Bible is delivered, be considered rhythmical. But we cannot help reflecting that these improvements might have been carried out without entailing the dislocation of the central and most important part of the service, wrought by ignorance in the seventeenth century, and which has not yet been set right.

The coming coronation will have a special interest, for it will contain the coronation of a Queen-Consort. During the period which we have been examining in this article, and which covers a space of nearly three hundred years, there have only been five coronations of a queen-consort, while there have been twelve coronations of reigning sovereigns. Latterly, therefore, this feature has been comparatively rare in the coronation service. The service for the queen consort falls into two periods only during these three hundred years, for the only change made was in 1685, when Sancroft abridged the service. Since then, the coronation of the queen-consort has always followed the model set by Sancroft. The queen of James I., Anne of Denmark, was anointed and crowned according to the service contained in the *Liber regalis*, but translated into English. This service, as we saw in our last article, consists of a prayer of consecration said at the entrance of the church (*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus fons*), another said when the queen kneels at the altar after the king's coronation (*Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem*), followed by unction on the head and breast. Then, after the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus affluentem*, which asks 'that as by the imposition of our hands she is this day crowned queen, so she may by Thy sanctification continue always Thy chosen and worthy servant,' the ring is delivered, and after a prayer the crown is blessed and set on the queen's head. The archbishop then makes a short address to the queen, puts the sceptre and ivory rod into her hands, and says the prayer (*Omnium Domine fons*) that the queen may adorn with good works the place which God has given her. After this, the queen

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goes up to her throne, bowing to the king as she passes by him.

This was the order used for Queen Anne of Denmark. Whether she was a member of the Roman Church or not, she retired during the Communion service into St. Edward's Chapel. But Queen Henrietta Maria would not even so much as be anointed and crowned by an Anglican prelate, and spent the time during her husband's coronation in dancing with her maidens. When Charles II. was crowned he was not yet married, and his queen was not crowned at all after her arrival in England Queen Mary of Modena, however, was crowned with James II., and the service was altered by Sancroft, and assumed the form which was used at the coronation of Queen Adelaide. Sancroft's changes consisted in the omission of *Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem*, the prayer after the delivery of the ring, the blessing of the crown, and the address after the imposition of the crown. The number of formulae was thus reduced from ten to six. Among the several verbal changes which he made Sancroft also altered in the prayer after unction (*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus affluentem*) the words 'as by the imposition of our hands' to 'by our office and ministry.' The change perhaps was desirable, as the language must have been scarcely intelligible, but by so doing he excised a phrase which threw no little light on the history of the coronation. Since Mary of Modena was crowned, there have been three coronations of queen-consorts—Queen Caroline, Queen Charlotte, and Queen Adelaide. In each case the service has been the same. A change made at Queen Adelaide's coronation was the omission of unction on the breast; and at Queen Caroline's coronation and subsequently four peeresses have held a canopy over the queen during her anointing, just as during the king's unction four knights of the garter perform the same service.

We have now traced the history of the coronation service and ceremonies down to the reign of Queen Victoria. We have shown how mutilated and unsatisfactory were the rites at the last two coronations, and after the lapse of sixty-four years, the officials had an opportunity of reinstating in

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full splendour the ancient customs of the land. It is to be feared the opportunity has been lost; though, perhaps, with an apathetic episcopate, and a College of Arms whose members belong in most part to an alien communion, it would perhaps be impossible to expect much, and therefore it might be hypercritical to find fault in all details. But we have at any rate a right to ask why every announcement that has hitherto been made, has tended to make the coming coronation absolutely meaningless. The most glaring instance of this is the procession through the streets. This should have been on the day before, if any regard be paid to meaning in the ceremonies. What meaning it will now have it is impossible to guess; it will, in fact, be nothing else but an aimless perambulation about London. Again, there is the elevation in Westminster Hall, which, next to the actual anointing and inthronization, is the most important ceremony in the whole coronation. This has been thrown aside, as also the processions from and to Westminster Hall, though it is obvious that the Palace of Westminster would be far more convenient a place in which the peerage could assemble and disperse, than is the west door of a church. Instead of this, it has been announced that a procession or 'cavalcade' will pass through several streets, with the result that the King and Queen will be far more fatigued than if the procession were only between Westminster Hall and the Abbey. We will say nothing of the proposal that the Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells should wear copes; it is evident that to the King's supporters these vestments will be very inconvenient, and also that such an arrangement will obscure the distinction between the bishops who take any part in the service and those who do not. The only part of the coronation ceremonies which has, till now, been left unaltered, is the service. It is to be wished that we had some guarantee that this most important rite may be left as it is, and that nothing may be done whereby this solemn service may be mutilated, and the Church of England and the King both brought into contempt before the world, through the incapacity of those who have the management of this service. We speak freely on the subject, for we feel strongly about

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it. While those other nations who have any ancient customs are jealously proud of their national observances, we fling them aside as if they were trifles fit only for mutilation at the hands of ill-informed or prejudiced officials. If only some slight regard were paid to precedent, the ceremonies of the inauguration of our sovereign, instead of being empty pomps, would be an illustration of the history and splendour of our mother country: and even if most people could see nothing of the ceremonies on the coronation day itself, it would be a satisfaction to many Englishmen to know that the customs of the nation, handed down from their ancestors to the present time, were being preserved and duly performed both in Westminster Abbey and in Westminster Hall.

ART. II.—BIBLE READING.

1. *The War Songs of the Prince of Peace. A Devotional Commentary on the Psalter.* By the Rev. R. M. BENSON, M.A., Student of Christ Church, sometime Superior of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1901.)
2. *De la Lecture de l'Ecriture Sainte.* Œuvres de Messire ANTOINE ARNAULD, Docteur de la Maison et Société de Sorbonne. Tom. viii. (Paris: Sigismond D'Arnay et C^ie^, 1777.)

THE work of the great Port Royalist which we name at the head of this article is in its form an elaborate defence against M. Mallet of the effort to bring the Holy Scriptures in French within the reach of the Catholic people of France. For us its most lastingly valuable part is the section (livre iii.) which deals with the judgment of the Fathers about the common reading of the Holy Scriptures. In order to refute *les visions et les songes*, which the admirers of M. Mallet have taken for *des recherches curieuses de l'antiquité*, Arnauld brings together such a collection of the authentic utterances of the ancient Fathers on the point as can scarcely be matched

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elsewhere. And, most of all, his representation of the teaching of St. John Chrysostom is valuable for English readers. What strikes us as we read this collection, or the originals from which it is taken, is that we are much nearer to St. Chrysostom in thought and feeling than we are to the Middle Ages, or than he is to the writers of that period. Just as, in secular literature, classical antiquity is much more easily understood by moderns than are the early ages of our own civilization, so also in the Church we find ourselves in a closer sympathy and a nearer likeness with the period during which the ancient empire and the undivided Church still stood firm than with the intensely fascinating ages which, in comparison with our own, have been called, perhaps with some injustice to antiquity, the Ages of Faith. Certainly, with regard to the Bible, the Church of the Councils was in practice and ideal what we should wish to be ourselves. It is astonishing, when we consider the absence of printing, to read the eager words in which St. Chrysostom demands the home reading of the Bible by his people. He will hear of no excuse. One day in the week, and at least on Saturday, they must take care to read that portion of the Gospel which the Bishop is to explain on the following Sunday. They are to repeat it often in their homes, to search for the sense of it, to note what they find clear, what appears obscure, and where there is any semblance of contradiction.

It is a large demand, and no doubt met with a great deal of disappointment.

'Which of us goes home,' he asks, 'to occupy himself in a Christian manner after church? Who takes the pains to read the books, and applies himself to discover the sense of Holy Scripture? No one will dare to say he does his best. We find rich furniture in the houses of Churchpeople, but we find nowhere good books, or at least among few; and those who have such books are as if they had them not, keeping them always shut up. They care only to have writings on fine parchment and in a beautiful hand, and not to read them.'

'Which of you,' he says in another place, 'who hears me now would be able to say by heart a Psalm or some other part of Scripture if I were to ask this of him?'

Very likely Chrysostom, like other preachers, demanded more of his hearers than they could reasonably be expected

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to fulfil, but it is clear that he expected of them a private and an exacting study of the Holy Scriptures, such as even to-day few men are bold enough to demand from private churchgoers. It may be, on the other hand, that he stood for the maintenance of ancient ways in a Church which had once been given to holy reading, as he desired it to be again: stood, that is to say, in a position like our own, when, among many advantages, we have yet to deplore some decay of meditation and of the simple study of Scripture. For there is reason to believe that the Bible was more read in England, and read with more profit, two generations ago than it is now. No doubt there are facts which tell in the opposite direction. We may be on the eve of a reaction, and if so this reaction has doubtless its forerunners. The restoration, also, of the daily prayers in many churches and the recognition by the clergy of the obligation to recite the office give to a large body that familiarity with Scripture which, sixty years ago, was said to be characteristic of a small group, the writers of the Oxford Tracts. Besides the evident facts, there are under-currents of encouragement. In the critical study of the Bible there is much more of devotion and practical fruitfulness than is sometimes supposed. Again, among the young and middle-aged of all the educated classes, there are many whose daily Bible reading is unsuspected by most of their friends. How many men in Oxford supposed that Mr. Pater's last years were almost devoted to the Bible and the Prayer-book?

Finally, if serious men speak less of the Scriptures than their grandfathers did, it is partly because the sacred books have become the subject of an exact and exacting science, and partly because reticence rightly increases in a society where religious differences are acute, and where it is impossible to take for granted a formal acceptance of revealed truth in those to whom that truth actually makes no successful appeal.

Yet, with all that can be set against it, the belief that Bible reading has seriously decayed certainly holds the ground. Those who know well what the state of England was in the first half of last century are witnesses against us;

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and it is the safer course to accept their witness without practical reservation, to examine our present state in this regard, and still more to watch the direction in which we are really moving.

Sixty years since, then, we may well believe that there was an amount of quiet, devout, and constant absorption of Holy Scripture, which is gravely diminished among the rich, and still more among the poor. Very likely, much of this reading was unintelligent, much actually mistaken. Sometimes it was joined with neglect of the Sacraments and of Church life. Sometimes it produced a 'comfort' which had no basis in self-knowledge. But, with all its drawbacks, it gave to great numbers a large supply of that food which the Scriptures are intended to provide. It helped men in the age when frequent communion had fallen out of mind—that frequent communion which had so eloquent an advocate in the great Frenchman whose praise of Bible reading we have glanced at. Those unlearned students—we speak especially of the poor, for it is perhaps among these that the change is most marked—those unskilled readers had the intelligence of love; they could taste what they could not define; and their ignorance was not hasty or scornful, as ignorance so easily may be. The long pondering of humble minds drew out the substantial truth which those minds were unable to clothe in suitable propositions. The gift, when it was received, was folded up[1] and unexamined; but it proved capable of development in character and conduct, and progressively disclosed its beauty and value under the examination which life supplied.

[1] '. . . Though it be not so in the physical, yet, in moral science, that which cannot be understood is not always profitless. For the soul awakes a trembling stranger between two dim eternities—the eternal past, the eternal future. The light shines only on a small space around her; therefore she needs must yearn towards the unknown; and the voices and shadowy movings which come to her from out the cloudy pillar of inspiration [the reference is to the Revelation and Old Testament prophecies] have each one echoes and answers in her own expectant nature. Its mystic imageries are so many talismans and gems, inscribed with unknown hieroglyphics; she folds them in her bosom, and expects to read them when she passes beyond the veil.'—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, chap. xxii. (Eva reads the Bible to Tom).

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If worldly advance has checked this meek receiving of the salutary Word, we must endeavour to unfasten the bonds of worldliness.

If Church doctrine, in the course of its necessary task, has proved a dangerous guest in narrow hearts;[1] if it has made in some quarters this illegitimate by-product of the neglect of Scripture, we must desire that, its first stage of struggle past, Church doctrine may insist with renewed clearness upon all that which its less considerate disciples may have missed.

If learned industry and scientific thought, such as sacred studies were for too long an interval deprived of, have in their revival turned away any minds from the substance of divine truth by the interest and perplexities which surround the investigation of its vehicle, we are now to hope that sound criticism, having made good its claim to respect and gratitude, will more and more fully disclose itself as the servant of faith and devotion. Whatever is false or weak, hypocritical or ill-balanced, in a popular use of the Bible is to be cured by a more thorough, a more considerate, and a more devout study of the same Scriptures.

Meanwhile, in humbler places and ways, some of us must do what we can to encourage the simple reading of the Bible in private. Without a Church public, a *plebs Christiana* conversant with the course of Scripture, even criticism must lose something of its power. For to many of its questions the answer must be sought as much in believing common-sense as in the results of technical research; while for other departments of theology the very materials are found, not in ancient records taken alone, but in the actual Christian consciousness moulded and furnished by the substance the records convey.

To enlarge and deepen the stream of Christian life is at once the most urgent and the most abiding interest of all sacred science. We have too long conducted our debates as

[1] 'Ideals of any sort are dangerous visitants to vain and shallow minds. In the thin soil of a poor nature they bear ugly fruit in arrogance or insolent pretentiousness.'—Rev. E. F. Russell, Preface to the *Life of Mackonochie*, p. ix.

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if it were certain that all possessed the same *data*, had access to the same premises. It is precisely the scantiness of Christian experience and the feebleness of its hold upon men which cause the most invincible misunderstandings between Christians, and the most cowardly hesitations before worldliness and materialism. To enlarge, to correct, to nourish this Christian life in consciousness the Holy Scriptures are the given means. They alone among writings are of a mesh close enough to catch all forms of mind, and are filled with a life able to meet and heal all the weakness and disordered strength of man as man. A wider study of Scripture is of all things the one most likely to increase the volume of belief, and to purify its current; to bring in a real 'broadness' which shall be known in the enrichment of Christian life, and not in the lessening of Christian security.

It is only with the humblest work that this article is concerned. Its object is to indicate three among the many ways in which Bible reading may prosper, three uses of Scripture in private devotion. Many other uses will at once suggest themselves. But on this occasion it is practically necessary to take no account of the unending interest of the Bible as a store of literature, as a history of great characters, as a means of forming the natural as distinguished from the supernatural tone of the mind in the individual and in the race; no account (and it is our greatest loss on this occasion) of the description and analysis which it provides of the ways of God with men, as shown in large national dealings; no account, that is, of the Bible as containing the public typical history of true religion.

But much more than enough remains to engage us within that more private sphere which, without prejudicing large questions, may be called specially the sphere of personal devotion.

In this sphere among the many modes of Bible reading three are here to be noted.

In the first the Bible is read as containing a body of doctrine, the sum of *credenda*, *accipienda*, *facienda*, showing us what me may, what we must believe, and what we are to do and be.

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In the second the Bible yields forms in which the soul may utter itself to God. Inspired prayers, praises, supplications, confessions, vows, ejaculations, aspirations are found to fit those beliefs and dispositions which in the first use are prescribed.

These two uses are very familiar. It is the third alone which needs any recommendation. In this the Scripture gives not only the substance of what is to be believed, and the words in which prayer may be made, but also the method by which faith is to be realised and fostered. It shows the soul how to open those eyes which St. Paul calls *ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας*. It is for practical instruction in prayer.

In the first use the Scripture is *corpus veritatis*. In the second it is *forma orationis*. In the third it is *scala perfectionis*. In the first it contains the material of dogmatics; it is the Fountain of Doctrine. In the second it is the Treasury of Devotion. In the third it is the inspired Ascetic, the safe and universal guide towards contemplation. Further, we shall see a correspondence between these three modes and the three principal phases of mental prayer. For in its first use the Bible is correlative to meditation. It provides all the subjects for the Prayer of Considerations, that 'first water' of St. Teresa, brought laboriously from the well to the garden in the vessels of devout study. In the second use the Bible matches the Prayer of Affections. It provides the 'acts' which the soul then requires. In the third use the Bible matches the prayer which reaches or which seeks after Contemplation, and here especially an inspired guide is needed. Here, when 'acts' are no longer desired, and devout considerations are for the time to be avoided, the Bible itself provides those safeguards which the wisest books of individual pilgrims along the same, or like paths, fail to give to each new adventurer. We have then *corpus veritatis* for meditation; *forma orationis* for the devout lover; *scala perfectionis* for the pilgrim of eternity.

Of these three uses it will be necessary by recapitulation to give some more extended account, and above all some slight illustration. Without this our distinctions will not sufficiently appear to the reader whom we chiefly intend: that

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is, the reader to whom these good uses are familiarly known and taken all together in practice, but for whom it may be of real advantage to recognize them apart. A little more may also well be said about the several kinds of mental prayer we have named, and particularly in praise of the first.

I. That the Bible teaches all that we must believe and do is a truth so familiar to English Churchmen that it need not here be dwelt upon. Nor need we pause upon the ever-valuable warning that the private reader must not approach the Scripture as if he were a solitary inquirer. He must come in the fellowship of the Church—that is, in the unity of Christ and in the power of the Spirit—or he can reap no security. The Bible is fruit of the believing Church, and in the faith and fellowship of the Church is approached by the believing person. All this, with its due developments and safeguards, is especially familiar to our age. Here we will only pause for a moment on the word 'teach.' All that the Bible teaches is true, and all we have to believe of revelation is there taught. But we must remember that Holy Scripture is not designed to *teach* us on all those subjects to which it refers. It may happen that we have within the Bible the only information extant about a certain region of ancient history. Again, it is of unmeasured value as literature; but as Scripture it is given for our *instruction* in divine things, in matters of revelation, and connected with the salvation of souls. It is a disclosure of God's presence in men, a disclosure addressed from faith to faith.

Each of us comes to the body of doctrine and commands as a Catholic, guided by the truth already known in the Church, but finding in the Bible the ground for continual reassurance of the truth, correcting by the Bible's witness the extravagances of our minds or age, and perpetually adding fullness, detail, and perspective to our knowledge of the truth. The Bible, then, is *regula fidei*, because it contains the record of what God has been pleased to reveal of His truth and His will; but above all, and as the sum of all, because it is the record of the life of God incarnate, the shrine of the true rational *eikon* of Jesus Christ, who is the express image of the Father. This aspect of the Bible admits of no partial and slender

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illustration. It is illustrated and recommended by the learning and acuteness of great minds in every quarter of the Church, not least powerfully by the great scholar of Port Royal. This study of the Bible guides the mind of the Church in all public teaching; it is by far the most powerful force in favour of unity; it is that which is privately accepted and used in meditation.[1]

The word meditation, once used among us to indicate the whole of mental prayer, begins now to bear the narrower sense of consideration. It is the prayer which proceeds by way of the discursive faculty. Here, while imploring the help of the Holy Spirit, we set ourselves to examine, reflect upon, and mentally appropriate some truth of the Gospel, some mystery of the Church, some feature of God's dealing with man, or some duty to which He invites us. All such subjects, in whatever words they are set forth, are drawn from the Holy Scriptures. Otherwise they are of no particular profit for the exercise of *meditation*, which is no mere turning over of notions, but an effort to feed mentally upon God; to draw near to Him by reason and thought and affectionate memory; to unite ourselves to the Truth Himself by considering long and patiently one of the truths He has bestowed upon us as rays from His own glory and guides to His own presence. Such and much more is meditation. It is concerned with the Bible according to this first use of ours. In the Bible according to this use are the texts for our inward discourse, the words which, devoutly accepted by thought, are found to be the words of eternal life. By such use the Christian's mind is enriched and furnished; the Christian's soul is encouraged and strengthened; the eyes of our understanding are enlightened; and loyal purpose is made definite, ardent, and effectual by perseverance. Greatly blessed is such a use; it is the perpetually renewed, the perpetually

[1] Of meditation and its relation to Scripture on the one hand, and to moral activity on the other, there is perhaps no better short account than that given by St. Francis de Sales in the sixth book of his treatise *Of the Love of God*; and with whatever inequalities of critical accuracy, the writings of St. Francis are throughout wonderful in their considerate and affectionate application of Scripture.

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necessary foundation of formal faith, the corrective of thought, giving wealth to the mind. Without it we can hope for no security and no advance.

St. Bernard says that the contemplation is miraculous which is not founded on consideration, on meditation; and by this perhaps he means that we cannot count upon it, and that it does not happen. But we are not therefore to conclude that meditation will be the employment of every Christian in his hours of special retirement. The duty of consideration fulfils itself in many ways. It is approached in Christian study; it is the employment or the effect of all the good exegesis and theology of the Church. In sermons there is something like a corporate and directed exercise of meditation; frequent Bible reading, constant thought, and even conversation help to do this kind of work in some souls. Accordingly it does not happen that all can dedicate the best hours of nearness to God to an exercise of which the object is attained for them in other parts of the day. Certain souls are led to an intimate communion to which meditation must for the time give way.

What we are concerned to urge is, first, that meditation should rely upon the *public* treasure of the Church, the Holy Scripture; and secondly, that it should form a *permanent* part of every Christian life. If any soul is led during its best hours to more silent and profound receptions of light, it is well that meditation should not disappear, but rather occupy some other part of the day. The whole life should be raised by a step; and the change made be not that prayer taken altogether has become less studious, but that study has become more prayerful; hours which were once 'common' raised to the level formerly reached by meditation in the hour of prayer, while that hour itself receives a higher character. The permanence of this prayer of consideration is required in order that no faculty may be left unsanctified. While the root of spiritual being is more directly united to God, the outlying regions of mental power and rational process are to be exercised and filled with their own heavenly food.

Before we pass to the other uses of Scripture within

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devotion, it may be well to remember that outside the region of special devotion the Bible is something besides the sum of things to be believed. To make it this alone is to make it for some nothing but a collection of 'difficulties.' There are honest and even tender souls to whom Scripture has never been presented except as an explosive magazine of hardly credible statements; and, as this is so, it is not wonderful if they wish the Book were smaller in bulk or thinner in texture. Such a wish is father to a particular class of theological activity.

There is a poor and weak and one-sided criticism, as well as a criticism which is rich and penetrating and large. It would be absurd to suggest that the most laborious and exacting of modern theological studies was itself fruitless for purposes of devotion. No one will maintain this who has given himself, even in a small degree, to an earnest study of those results of original research which are from time to time given us by great scholars. It is not (we hope) an uncommon experience for the worshipper to find a special spiritual force precisely in those Psalms to which he has given some measure of *studious* attention. Such a book as Wright's *Synopsis of the Gospels* in Greek will for certain minds do as much to quicken a sense of what Scripture is for life and devotion as many commentaries.

'One cannot *study* . . . any part of Scripture,' says Father Benson (who would give to study the sense of a really patient and costly effort), 'without feeling more and more the intense vitality of Divine inspiration which breathes through every part.'

But there is a technical learning which is ungenerous and dry. There is a Criticism which tends to become an effort to show that the books are not what they appear; there is an Introduction which goes to prove that there is no special reason for reading them; and an Exegesis which comes near to suggesting that they do not mean what they say. But all this is to be met by a truer exegesis, a more penetrating introduction, a more exact criticism.

Yet, besides this continually advancing work of sound learning, there is a work for a more general kind of thought.

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Destructive efforts might not take the form they take if men saw that the Bible is more than a collection of teaching to be believed; more, therefore, than a mass of statements to be disproved.

II. In the second place, we said, the Bible is a treasury of devotion. It provides us not only thoughts we may think about God, but the words in which we may address His majesty and love; and through the words it gives a form to the mind and affections by which we may indeed approach Him. *Speculum revelationis* becomes *eloquium amantis.* It gives in sacred utterance the relief, and at the same time the cultivation, of those aspirations which it implants; and in this it corresponds to that which is commonly taught as the second stage of prayer—the Prayer of Affections, which is both satisfied and sustained by direct acts of worship, love, sorrow, thanksgiving to Almighty God. The Bible yields such acts, just as it gives the form for the public utterance of the Church. On this head we will add only two words.

It is, on the one hand, much to be desired that reality should be secured to the utterance of Divine service and of the Eucharist by the Psalms and prayers receiving the character of 'direct acts,' deliberately and energetically launched by the soul towards God alone; and while public worship thus secures reality it is desirable that private prayers should secure stability by its acts and all its expressions being increasingly though not exclusively framed in the language of Scripture. It is probably in the Prayer of Affections especially that men find the value of certain forms; and it is possibly in this especially that they seek for those forms most seldom in those writings which are for the Church universal and abiding. The Psalms, the Prayer Book both of the Ancient and of the Catholic Church, are the prayers of Jesus Christ. They are the anthology of God, the flowering of His redemption, of our eucharist; they are the inspired utterance of the covenant between God and man which was made perfect in the Incarnate while yet He abode alone. The same covenant extended to us finds in the same words its utterance in and by us, and the unison of words produces,

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by the Spirit, in those who now use them a progressive conformity of the members to the Head.

There is no need to do slenderly in this place that work of showing the function of the Psalms which has been done solidly in our own generation. The learned and devout writer whose latest work is named at the head of this article has done eminent service in bringing forward that special character of the Psalms to which we refer—their character as the utterance of Christian devotion. 'The Psalter is given to us by God to be the proper instrument of all true devotion' (Pref. p. v); and this true devotion is 'in the fellowship of the Incarnate Word.'

'The words,' continues our author, 'with which we approach God in matins and evensong, and on many other occasions, are not words of human invention, but have been given to us by God Himself. They were used by our Blessed Lord when He was Himself taking part in the Temple services. We know also that they formulated His own private devotions; so was it in His very last utterance upon the Cross. . . . We ought to see that we offer them to God with all the outward perfection of sacred song and all the inward perfection of intelligent love which belongs to a worship in which the Spirit of Christ is still pouring itself from the lips of His Body, the Church.'

Towards this quickening of the regular recitation of the Psalms the knowledge of fresh translations may be of great value, and still more a conception of the interrelations of the different parts of the Psalter. 'A translation,' writes Father Benson in the volume we have already quoted, 'is the most important part of a commentary.' His own translation is remarkable as an effort to represent each line of the Hebrew by a line of English, and the parallelisms of the Hebrew by English rhyme. No Psalm could better test the method than the twenty-third, because of the intense affection with which we all possess both the Bible and the Prayer Book versions of it in our memory. Father Benson's scientific form seems to us to lose nothing by comparison with any versions but those two.

1. 'The Lord doth feed me;-want shall ne'er be mine!
2. He folds me where the tender pastures grow;
   He leads me forth where restful waters flow.

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3. My soul He will reclaim.
   Yea, in the righteous highway He will guide,
   True to His name.
4. What though I tread the vale of death's dark shade,
   With Thee at hand no wrong can make afraid;
   Upon Thy rod, Thy staff, with comfort stayed.
5. Before my troublers Thou a feast hast spread;
   Thine unction's fatt'ning fragrance cheers my head,
   And richly is my cup replenished.
6. Goodness and mercy follow me right sure,
   Till all life's days be past.
   So the Lord's House shall be my home secure,
   Through length of days to last.'

To have rendered the whole Psalter afresh by a method which in less skilful and tender hands would be rigid, and to have done this without sacrifice of one literal translation to the music or one law of form to the requirements of our tongue is a great achievement. And, further, this task has been accomplished for each Psalm in such a manner as to manifest its connection with the rest in what Father Benson sees as a 'continuous epic' of the Redeemer's kingdom, 'though lyrical in form as consisting of separate odes' (ii. 8).

The volume is on this and on many other accounts one which, more than any that we know, will help to lift our use of the Psalter—that Psalter which 'is the school in which all saints have been trained' (p. 22), so that it may become the exercise of 'the living fellowship with God which belongs to those whom Christ has taken into union with Himself, that in us He may speak continually to the Father by the power of the Holy Spirit.'

One of the lessons which Father Benson emphasizes will be of great help to many at the present day. While not himself supporting any but what would be called the conservative view of authorship and dates, Father Benson plants the devotional use of the Psalms on a foundation which is quite independent of any particular theory upon these debated questions:

'So then we may look to find illustrations of the Psalms in these typical events which are specified at times, but it is only as typical

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events, not as natural incidents, that they have their importance. As far as there is any historical foundation capable of illustrating the Psalms, it must be used as formulating a type, not as awakening a sentiment. Chronological order is of no concern, and we are not helped by guessing at special occasions which might seem to be suitable. Occasions may illustrate a poem that is the offspring of earthly feeling, but they do not help us in the contemplation of Divine sayings. So it is that in the Psalms we must always recognize not the man but the God-Man. We must not look to the Prophet as a man, but as an inspired organ in the Divine economy, and we must not look to our own natural necessities, but to our sacramental relationship to the Body of Christ, which of old times was typified in the Prophets. Thus we shall find the Psalter raising us to the true consciousness of the life of faith. The Psalmist is indeed an ideal Personage, but not, as many would conceive of him, a mere creature of national sentiment. He is a Person of infinitely greater reality than any whose names live upon the scroll of history or the dreams of imaginations. He is the Eternal Son of God, the predestined Son of Man, the Conqueror of Satan, the Second Adam, the Father of the world to come.'

As the great book of devotion the Psalter is put into our hands by the Christian Church. It comes to us consecrated by the selection and use and arrangement of the Jewish Church, by our Lord's personal example, by the unbroken practise of the Christian Church, by the devotion of a countless army of saints. Our belief in the Divine economy of grace teaches us that there is nothing fortuitous in the Christian revelation. And however interesting in their sphere may be discussions on questions of date or of authorship, the devout Christian reveres the Psalter as one great book, divine in its authorship, instinct with the very life and reality of devotion.

It is not necessary to add that there are many other parts of Scripture which being eucharistic and devotional in their origin are constantly used in liturgy and private devotion. The Liturgy, the Breviary, the Prayer Book, rightly dividing the Word of Truth, keep mind and soul in happy servitude to the God-given law of worship. There can be few more varied and richer exercises for one who prays the Prayer of Acts than to follow and make his own the antiphons, chapters, and

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responsories with which the Psalter has been pointed for the Church's year. Few uses can be more varied; but we set out prepared to recommend one freer still. Let the Christian search the Scripture at his will for utterances as well as subjects, and he will find them in the Gospels in the words of those who sought help from Christ; in St. Paul, and especially in Romans (cap. viii.), or in the opening and other prayers of Ephesians; in St. Peter (the opening of the First Epistle), in St. John and the other two apostolic writers; indeed throughout the New Testament he will find prayers made ready for his soul, words which he is able not only to receive, but to put forth in the energy of prayer. The scope of our second use of the Bible (as *forma orationis*) grows continually as the Christian finds the sense and spirit of Scripture become his own. And of the Prayer of Acts we may say, as of the Prayer of Consideration, that if it proves a ladder to some better thing, it will not on that account be discarded, but the utterance of praise and supplication will overflow into lower chambers of the life. If mental prayer becomes more quiet, the choir office and the hymn become more inwardly devout.

III. The Bible, then, gives light to the understanding, it gives wings to the affections. It has also a sure function for that silent pilgrimage in which the sensitive nature and the discursive intelligence no longer lead or rule. The Scripture is a directorium to the presence of God. It is a work of Method, of Ascetic; it is a practical treatise, or contains the material of the universal one. It is the soul's guide-book, not only its geography and its history of discovery. It teaches how to seek, how to arrive; it is the divine Scale of Perfection, marking the steps by which in actual experience the soul climbs from darkness into light. The Bible, that is, taking this matter in its most prosaic form, not only lays before us what we ought to believe, but teaches how we may be trained to belief, how faith is born, and how set free; and how it grows by nourishment, in self-knowledge, in energetic exercise; what is the place of passive reception, and what of obedient adventure. This function of Scripture, by which it fosters faith, familiar as it appears when it is stated, is too

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little familiar in actual use. With regard to unbelief, those who honestly desire certainty too little attend to such a word as our Lord's question: 'How can ye believe which seek honour one of another?' and too little consider the practical nature of the answer which He gave to St. Jude's question (Joh. xiv. 22)—the question which all ascetical theology sets before itself—'Lord, how is it that Thou wilt manifest Thyself to us and not unto the world?' From the Sermon on the Mount ('Seek and ye shall find') to the Revelation of St. John ('Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings') are words which show how alone God, if He is God, can certainly be known.

And if for earnest doubt, still more for ardent faith the Scripture contains an element not yet sufficiently employed. Few things are stranger than the practical separation of the great tradition of mystical theology from the currents of dogma and canonical discipline. For truth, for command, for form, we go to Scripture and the great Creeds and Liturgies. For the science, and still more for the art of spiritual experience, for skill and method, we turn to a stream of teaching which seems, strangely, to have been most replenished precisely in those places and times for which the Scripture was a sealed book and the Church's utterance in an unknown tongue. Thankful as we must be for that wonderful witness in dark times, we must desire that spiritual joy and Christian learning may not be suffered to vary inversely. They had—in Spain, in mediæval Germany, in ancient Syria—a wonderful knowledge of God's presence, largely without the Bible. We must see that we are not content with an extended knowledge of the Bible which is largely without God. But we must carry the Bible with us into that more personal adventure. We must seek—and if we seek we shall find, for it is there—a Biblical Ascetic, a Scriptural *Method* of prayer.

Such a subject can be but slightly dealt with here, and to touch it slightly is perhaps to do no good. We will, however, indicate some of the heads under which such a study may be pursued. The Bible appears as a directorium of prayer, first:

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(i.) In certain special warnings and encouragements, such as we have already quoted ('How can ye believe?' 'Draw nigh to God, and He will draw nigh to you,' 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God'); in the account which St. James gives of the development of 'the wisdom which is from above'; or which 2 Peter gives of the means by which 'entrance' to our Saviour's kingdom is 'ministered abundantly'; and, again, in the reference made in the same epistle to the use of the ancient Scriptures as a training and support, 'a lamp shining in a dark place until the day dawn and the day-star arise' in our hearts.

(ii.) It appears, secondly, in the great general scheme of the knowledge of God which is disclosed pre-eminently in the last discourses in St. John's Gospel and commenced in St. John's First Epistle. Such a theology of the union with Christ and revelation of the Father has a special splendour of expression in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, with which the Epistle to the Ephesians may be contrasted as showing rather the deep basis of 'mere' faith on which the *consciousness* of God's presence must be built.

(iii.) Further, it appears in the more obscure and allusive or figurative history of a soul progressively illuminated which is contained in the early chapters of St. John, in the Parables of the Kingdom in St. Matthew, and in the Parable of the Prodigal in St. Luke.

(iv.) Fourthly, we may note it in the plain historical (and yet theologically arranged) account of our Lord's method in training faith, a history given with special clearness of development in St. Matthew. Here is shown the guidance of faith from its first and small beginning (ὀλιγόπιστοι, St. Matt. vi. 30) as trust in God for food and raiment, through needs and dangers and duties, till it becomes the faculty of filial intercourse with the unseen Father, capable on the one hand of an endurance and energy beyond nature, and on the other of an insight which is secure knowledge, the evidence of things not seen.

We shall do harm rather than good if we seem to suggest that these four are exhaustive divisions or touch more than

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the surface of so great a subject—the power of Scripture as the practical guide of prayer, the Divine Ascetic.

Such, then, are the three modes of Scriptural study which we set out to indicate. Dare one add a word about a use which lies even beyond these? For there is indeed a fourth chamber visible even to those who wander very slothfully about the first.

IV. The Bible is a geography mapping and describing the heavenly country; it is the anthology of the hymns sung there; it teaches the language of that court and puts right addresses in our lips; it is the guide-book practically directing those who would enter the land; but it is, in Christ's infinite mercy, more than this. Sometimes it brings us there. It is for us what a guide-book might be which, while we read in it, transported us to the places it described; it is like a poem which should be wrought in so subtle and powerful a spell that, while our eyes traced its lines and our mind's ear delighted in its measure, it brought the author of the music to our door, drew him to us and us to him; made a meeting between the soul which learnt and the high spirit which framed the lesson. 'He,' says Browning of the poet,

> 'He with a "look you" vents a brace of rhymes,
> And in there breaks the sudden rose herself,
> Over us, under, round us every side,
> Nay, in and out the tables, and the chairs,
> And musty volumes . . .
> Buries us with a glory, young once more,
> Pouring heaven into this shut house of life.' [1]

'*Pouring heaven into this shut house of life*'; that is the work of Bible-reading.

Suppose a new and better Lucian, a *Dialogues of the Dead* which brought us, not in fancy, but in spiritual reality, into the presence of the great ones of old. Suppose a Plato of such magic that, as we read in it, our door opened to the knock of Socrates. Such books would even in their own

[1] Browning, *Transcendentalism: A Poem in Twelve Books.* At *the* beginning of *Men and Women.*

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lower sphere be less powerful than the Bible actually is in the highest of all. For as a man reads in this, Christ is made verily apparent as He is ever near; a door is opened in heaven, and our earth is holy with the supreme visitation. 'Behold I stand at the door and knock.'

Can any account be given of these things? How is it that certain parts of Scripture, and for happy souls a growing variety of parts, do in simple reading unlock the doors of 'this shut house of life,' disperse the mists of sense, the clouds of sin and grief, and bring the All, the One, home to the soul? Is it because the Presence is always near, waiting for recognition; but our natures tuned to other and lower apprehensions are as completely unaware of the beauty in which we live as our hands are incapable of perceiving the currents of the most powerful magnet: currents or stresses in the fields of ether which can set a mass of iron in such motion as would crush out of recognition the body which is totally unaffected by the currents themselves? The strongest magnet yields no message to our nerves. The Great Presence folds us in and the natural heart is unaware. But the Word which comes from God in the very language and feeling of our nature lays hold on us from Him. The language is ours, the tongue not of angels but of men, but it vibrates in the divine rhythm. This vibration, this rhythmical movement, it conveys to us. It addresses, it finds and reawakens the regenerate in us, the heavenly witness. And the soul—thus tuned by means of sense and words and listening mind, tuned in those deep regions which produce no words and yield no message to the plumb-line of discourse—the soul is so far set in unison with the divine movement that, of a sudden, as a bell brought into sympathy at once sounds out the note which lingered unheard in the air, so suddenly our nature is aware of that which unknown besets it, and we reckon for an advent that which is really the emergence of the spiritual organs of apprehension into the flood of real experience.

Those who would pass beyond the Bible, those who would deal directly with God, need especially the Bible to point them the way, to accompany them to the confines of the closed-in

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life, to launch them into such knowledge as will make them recognise how little they know of that which Scripture can teach.

It is ever beyond the most adventurous, yet never out of reach of the slowest. Great capacity can spare nothing of what it wins; the smallest can seize as much as will make poverty rich. 'He that gathered much had nothing over; and he that gathered little had no lack.'

. . . . . .

That 'something more,' which is sought by those who ascertain and interpret the letter of Scripture is well suggested (but only suggested) by one of the most sympathetic presentations in fiction of the scholar-temperament:

'Pourquoi achever de brûler mes yeux sur de vieux parchemins?' asks the old Academician. 'Qu'espérais-je donc y trouver alors? La date d'une fondation pieuse . . . le prix d'un pain . . . cela et quelque chose encore . . . Quelque chose qui, n'ayant pas de corps, n'a pas de nom, et sans lequel pourtant aucune œuvre de l'esprit ne serait entreprise sur cette terre. Maintenant que je ne cherche que ce que je puis raisonnablement trouver, je ne trouve plus rien du tout.'[1]

This 'something more,' which the great secular scholars ('les Thierry, qui ont trouvés tant de choses) *sont morts sans avoir trouvés*,' is not only sought but found by the student of sacred Scriptures.

'When Thy word goeth forth it giveth light and understanding unto the simple.'

[1] *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, Anatole France.

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ART. III.—THE CHURCH AND THE CLERGY BEFORE THE CIVIL WARS.

1. *History of the Great Rebellion.* By EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1839.)
2. *The Life of John Donne.* By EDMUND GOSSE. (London: Heinemann, 1899.)
3. *The Country Parson.* By GEORGE HERBERT. Edited by HENRY C. BEECHING. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1898.)
4. *Aubrey's Brief Lives.* Edited by ANDREW CLARK. (Oxford, 1898.)
5. *Cosin's Correspondence.* Vol. I. (Durham: Surtees Society, 1869.)
6. *A History of the Church of England.* By G. G. PERRY. (London: Sanders, Otley and Co., 1869.)
7. The Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

THE years which immediately preceded the Great Rebellion seem, when we read the political history of the time, to have been almost entirely times of strife and confusion; but when we look below the surface we find that quiet religious work was quietly proceeding, that in all classes there were men of deep piety who cordially approved of the action of those in high place, and that a deep-rooted attachment to the Church of England, 'as opposed to Popish and Puritan innovations,' existed, which sufficiently explains the warmth of devotion that followed her fortunes during the period of their eclipse and of enthusiasm to welcome her when she received her own again.

When Charles I. came to the throne old men could still remember the days of Queen Mary, and men still in middle life recalled ancient customs which had only gradually died out. At the end of his life—he died in 1643—Dr. Kettell, President of Trinity College, Oxford, would speak of the rood-lofts, and the wafers in the Sacrament, which he remembered everywhere. They had become uncommon. The vestments were often preserved, sometimes used, in colleges, as well as in cathedral churches. Old customs of festal use survived

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even in small parish churches. The parish priest, according to George Herbert, would take order that his church was 'at great festivals strawed or stuck with boughs and perfumed with incense.' At Durham the influence of Cosin introduced, so Smart objected, customs 'not used in other cathedral churches within this realm, nor in former times used in Durham, as, namely, standing up at the Nicene Creed, *Gloria Patri*, wearing of copes at the Second Service,[1] . . . setting tapers burning, and not burning, on the Communion-table.' The organs, too, were played there during the administration of the Sacraments of Holy Communion and of Baptism. And there were many score of images bravely painted and gilded, says the same distempered critic.

Aubrey tells how, when Lord Saye and Sele came to visit the University of Oxford, there were paintings in the chapel of Trinity of two altars, with much other old work. Of the pictures the eccentric President Kettell said, 'truly, my lord, we regard them no more than a dirty dish-clout,' and thus saved them. Mediæval glass at Salisbury remained in 1629 to provoke the anger of Henry Sherfield, and to lead to his prosecution in the Star Chamber. Laud was at pains to collect and restore the glass in Lambeth Palace Chapel; and though the Puritan fear of idolatry had a special distrust of painted windows, the feeling was not at all general in England. At Fairford the famous fifteenth-century glass was preserved entire throughout the Civil War. And though this was unusual, there is enough mediæval glass still remaining in the country to show how much more there must have been before the war broke out. The Puritan Neal's account of the cathedral church of Canterbury is perhaps exaggerated; but he is too systematic to be incorrect when he speaks of 'two candlesticks, tapers, a bason for oblations, a cushion for the service-book, a silver-gilt canister for the wafers, . . . a credentia, or side-table, with a bason and ewer and napkins, and a towel, to wash before consecration,' and adds that 'on some altars there was a pot called the incense-pot, and a

[1] In his *Memoranda* Smart contradicts this statement of his *Articles*, for he states that when James I. was at Durham copes were worn at the Communion.

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knife to cut the communion-bread.' Heylin, Laud's chaplain, thus describes Mainwaring's changes at Worcester:

'He erected a fair table of marble, standing on four well-fashioned columns; he covered the wall behind the same with azure-coloured stuff, having white silk lace upon every seam, and furnished it with palls and fronts, as he had observed it in his Majesty's and some bishops' chapels; and ordered the King's scholars, being forty in number, who formerly used to throng tumultuously into the choir, to go in rank, by two and two, and make their due obeisances at their coming in.'

Among the articles plundered from St. George's Chapel at Windsor by Parliamentary soldiers, when Christopher Wren, brother of the Bishop of Ely, was dean, were 'two fair double-gilt chalices with covers, two fair double-gilt flagons, and a bason, gilt, for the bread at great Communions.' It was alleged against Cosin in the articles of his impeachment, that 'at the first Candlemas-day, at night, he caused three hundred wax candles to be set up and lighted in the church at once in honour of our Lady, and placed threescore of them upon and about the altar.' The offended Prebendary Smart, who has already been mentioned, preached bitterly against all that Cosin had done in his Cathedral:

'Our young Apollo repaireth the quire, and set it out gaily with strange Babylonish ornaments; the hallowed priests dance about the altar, making pretty sport and fine pastime with trippings and turnings, and crossing and crouching.'

While Puritans thus made mock, there were many in the North, where there survived a traditional affection for ceremonial, who warmly approved. Smart had heard, he said—

'A strange speech, little better than blasphemy, uttered lately by a young man in the presence of his lord and many learned men. "I had rather go forty miles to a good service than two miles to a sermon (*Os durum*)." And what meant he by a good service? His meaning was manifest: where goodly Babylonish garments were worn, embroidered with Images, where he might have a delicate noise of singers, with shakebuts and cornets and organs, and, if it were possible, all kinds of music, used at the dedication of Nabuchodonosor's golden Image.'

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The movement was far from generally unpopular. And it was no mere love of show that dictated it. The endeavour to introduce a certain standard of ceremonial, based, as Laud argued, upon the unbroken usage of the royal chapels, the example of most of the cathedral churches, and the custom of Queen Elizabeth's days, was accompanied, it is interesting to note, by a genuine zeal for church building and restoration. In 1636, Archbishop Neile observed that in the past year there had been expended in the archdeaconries of York, the East Riding, and Nottingham, in 'repairing and adorning churches,' the large sum of 6,562*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* Many cases are recorded of the entire rebuilding of churches, such as that of Little Gidding by the Ferrar family. Laud and Juxon were noted as builders and restorers—Abergwili, Lambeth, Croydon, Fulham, all bearing witness to their zeal.

All through this period, too, the restoration and refitting of St. Paul's Cathedral proceeded apace. Laud's correspondence is full of references to it, and it was thought that the fines in the High Commission Court were the heavier because they were devoted to that object.

The most famous instance, however, of church restoration is that undertaken by John Viscount Scudamore, a friend of Laud's, who, after eminent public services, settled down on his country estate and undertook the re-endowment and re-edification of the churches of which he was patron. Having obtained advice from the archbishop and the necessary licence in mortmain to re-endow, he took in hand the rebuilding of the ancient church of Abbey Dore. So 'ruinous and mean' was the condition of this 'venerable place' that, according to the writer who describes Lord Scudamore's work, one who 'well remembered the rebuilding of the church of Door saith Mr. John Gyles, otherwise then called Sir Gyles, curate here, before the present church was rebuilt read Prayers under an arch of the old demolished church to preserve his prayer-book from wet in rainy weather.'[1]

[1] *A View of the Ancient and Present State of the Churches of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hempsted, endowed by the Right Hon. John Lord Viscount Scudamore*, by Matthew Gibson, 1727, p. 36. See also a very interesting article in the *Guardian* for March 5, 1902, *A Laudian Church, Dore Abbey*, by Mr. Rushforth.

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The church of Abbey Dore was consecrated, after complete restoration, on Palm Sunday, 1634. The form used was that of Bishop Andrewes, practically unaltered. Part of the description of the work done, as recorded by Gibson illustrates with some fulness the nature of the attention paid in the time of the Laudian movement to the details of church-fitting. It is to be observed that Lord Scudamore restored and re-endowed the other churches of which Gibson writes in the same manner. In later years he was a generous protector of the dispossessed clergy.

'And as the altar there had been profaned, so the Communion-table here had been pulled down and buried in the ruines of that church, till, carrying a great deal of stone away for common uses, it was dug up, among the rest, and appropriated (if by way of abuse I may be allow'd to call it so, tho' I tremble at it) to the salting of meat and making of cheese upon. Thus it continued for a while, till it was very strangely (tho' without a miracle) discovered what it was. Whereupon the Lord Scudamore, when he rebuilt this church, with great awfulness ordered it to be restored, and set upon three pilasters of stone, where now it stands, the most remarkable Communion-table of any in these parts, being one entire stone, 12 foot long, 4 foot broad, and 3 inches thick. The fine east window over the Communion-table was made by Lord Scudamore, and the glass so painted by him, as I have been told, at the expense of 100*l*.'[1]

While such work as this was being done in regard to the external fabric and internal order of the churches, it is to be observed that the custom as to public service was by no means uniform. In most of the cathedral churches the Holy Communion was celebrated every Sunday and saint's day. In many of the parish churches the celebration was at least once a month. Lettice Lady Falkland, in one of her letters from the country, regretfully speaks of only being able to communicate monthly. The visitation articles of the bishops are careful to inquire whether there was Communion at least at the three great festivals. The Eucharist is constantly spoken of as 'the Second Service,' following Morning Prayer in due liturgical order, generally quite early, and never later than noon.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 38.

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The number of communicants, as might have been judged from the Communion-vessels of the date, was exceedingly large; at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, for example, there were over two thousand communicants. There do not seem to be traces of reservation of the Sacrament in church after service, though Thorndike, some thirty years later, seems to regard it as a laudable and even necessary practice;[1] but it appears from the case of Nicholas Ferrar that it was occasionally taken from the church, after the celebration, to communicate the sick.

In the Court, and in some cathedral churches, there were public prayers every day, and lectures also on the week-days. Mary Rich writes that, at Warwick House, where Puritan sympathies were strong, 'there were daily many eminent and excellent divines, who preached in the chapel most edifyingly and awakeningly to us.'[2] In country churches Morning and Evening Prayer were said regularly on Sundays, and often on week-days, as George Herbert's example shows; but the bishops did not enforce the obligation, though they inquired into its performance. In some country churches there was only public prayer 'on the Lord's Day and its eve, and on Holy Days and their eves, and on Wednesdays and Fridays, our wonted Litany days.'[3] The Litany, except in cathedral churches, does not seem on Sundays to have been said or sung as a separate service, but immediately after Morning Prayer. Bishop Wren, writing to his chancellor, Dr. Corbett, on March 6, 1635, orders 'that ye divine seruice and sermon in every church shall be at the canonicall time in most places observed, namelie, between ye houres of nine and twelve in ye forenoon; and that in ye afternoone the Divine service shall begin about three of the clocke.'[4]

Catechising, to which there is constant reference in the

[1] *Works*, v. 578.

[2] *Mary Countess of Warwick*, by Mary E. Palgrave, p. 102.

[3] *The Return of Spiritual Comfort and Grief in a Devout Soul, represented (by intercourse of Letters) to the Right Honourable the Lady Lettice, Viscountess Falkland*, &c. (1648, p. 4), where Lady Falkland is speaking of her own experience in country parishes of the daily services and of less frequent prayer.

[4] Tanner MSS., vol. lxviii. f. 26.

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voluminous papers of Bishop Wren regarding his visitation of the Diocese of Norwich, 1635–38, preserved in the Bodleian Library, was made a special feature of Laud's revival of discipline. It was directed to be held everywhere in the afternoon, and it was intended thus to replace the sermons of the lecturers. Its enforcement was a part of that supervision which was designed to destroy not only the lecturer pledged to the propagation of particular views, but also the chaplains of country squires, men such as Bishop Hall wittily describes:

> 'A gentle squire would gladly entertain
> Into his house some trencher-chapellain,
> Some willing man that might instruct his sons,
> And that would stand to good conditions:
> First, that he lie upon the truckle-bed,
> While his young master lieth o'er his head;
> Second, that he do, on no default,
> Ever presume to sit above the salt;
> Third, that he never change his trencher twice;
> Fourth, that he use all common courtesies,
> Sit bare at meals, and one half rise and wait.
> All these observed, he would contented be
> To give five marks and winter livery.'

Sometimes the chaplain was kept in pretence as 'a curate to the parson' of the parish; Laud mentions such a case.[1] All such cases the bishops were now exhorted to diligently investigate. There was danger of the revival of the pre-Reformation abuse of chantry priests in another form; and episcopal supervision was much needed.

The changes were not received with satisfaction everywhere, and those of the clergy who were interested in the system of lectureships as propagating their own opinions, or in the freedom of private chaplains as a privilege of county families, to which they themselves belonged, expressed strong distaste. We have an example in the diary of John Rous, a Suffolk rector, who carefully noted the king's injunction as to lectureships, but described with disgust the nature

[1] It is worth noting this early example of the present popular use of the word 'curate.'—Laud's *Works*, vi. 365.

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of the new preaching of Laudian principles by hot-headed and ill-educated preachers, and joined in the laugh against

> 'Sir Roger, from a zealous piece of frieze,
> Rais'd to a vicar, but without degrees,
> Whose yearly audit may, by strict account
> To twenty nobles, and his vails, amount.'

While lectures were being suppressed, there seemed to the Puritans to be undue laxity in another direction. 'The country parson is a lover of old customs, if they be good and harmless; and the rather because country-people are much addicted to them, so that to favour them therein is to win their hearts, and to oppose them therein is to deject them.' So wrote George Herbert; and the instance he quoted in illustration was the yearly Rogationtide procession, for the blessing of the fields and the 'beating of bounds.' The custom was favoured by those in authority as a means of drawing the people together in Christian fellowship and charity. Herrick mentions it; and Montague inquired after the performance in his visitation articles of 1637: 'Doth your minister yearly, in Rogation week, for the knowing and distinguishing of the bounds of parishes, and for obtaining God's blessing upon the fruits of the ground, walk the Perambulation, and say or sing in English the Gospels, Epistles, Litany, and other devout prayers, together with the 103rd and 104th Psalms?'

George Herbert's account of the parson's Sunday is a beautiful picture of the

> 'Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
> The bridal of the earth and sky,'

which the priest spent in devout worship and ministry, in reconciliation and charity. The spirit of his words suggests nothing of the contention which in his time marred the observance of the day of rest. There was, however, nothing more hotly debated—nothing that made a more sharp division between Puritans and 'Orthodox'—than the observance of Sunday. James I. had excited strong feeling by his *Book of Sports*. In the earlier years of Charles I.'s reign a literary controversy on the subject had been followed by an attempt

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on the part of several judges of assize to forbid the custom of Sunday village feasts, and some had actually required the clergy to publish their order in church. The king regarded this as an interference with his prerogative, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Pierce) was ordered to report as to the nature of the parish festivals and their observance. His letter, based on the information of seventy-two clergy, throws an interesting light on the customs of Somerset. He described the classes of feasts as 'Feasts of dedication, or revel days,' 'church-ales,' 'clerk-ales,' and 'bid-ales.'

'The feasts of dedication are in the memory of their several churches; those churches which are dedicated to the Holy Trinity have their feast on Trinity Sunday; and so all the feasts are kept on the Sunday before or after the saint's day to whom the churches are dedicated, because the people have not leisure to observe them on the week-days. . . . Church-ales are when the people go from their afternoon prayers on Sundays to their lawful sports and pastimes in the churchyard, or in the neighbourhood in some public-house, where they drink and make merry. By the benevolence of the people at these pastimes many poor parishes have cast their bells, and beautified their churches, and raised stocks for the poor, and there has not been observed so much disorder at them as commonly at fairs or markets. Clerk-ales are so called because they were for the maintenance of the parish clerk; and there is great reason for them, for in poor country parishes the people, thinking it unfit that the clerk should duly attend at the church and not gain by his office, send him in provision, and then come and feast with him, by which means he sells more ale and tastes more of the liberality of the people than their quarterly payments would amount to in many years; and since these have been put down many ministers have complained to me that they are afraid they shall have no parish clerk. A bid-ale is when a poor man, decayed in his substance, is set up again by the liberal benevolence and contribution of his friends at a Sunday's feast.'

It was natural that Puritans should feel strongly about many of these observances, and it can only have been from a desire to preserve the people's amusements that Charles should have taken the matter so much to heart. Chief-Justice Richardson, who on the Western Circuit had ordered the clergy to put down the games, was summoned before the

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Council and soundly rated. Laud was sharp with him for his intrusion into clerical matters. 'I have been almost choked with a pair of lawn-sleeves,' said the judge when he came out. The king reissued his father's Declaration of Sports, and added strong words forbidding any interference with 'the feasts of the dedication of churches, commonly called wakes.' This declaration was ordered to be read in churches; but there was the greatest reluctance in many places to obey. It was also a flat contradiction to the policy of the House of Commons, which had already passed Bills of a strongly Sabbatarian tendency. There was a divergence of opinion, emphasized by a mass of polemical literature of great erudition and vigour, which nothing could bridge over:

'A House of Commons which could listen to Sir Herbert Crofts' declaring that the Church had declined ever since doctors began to wear boots; or could expel Mr. Sheppard, M.P. for Shaftesbury, for explaining that "dies Sabbati" meant not the Sabaoth, as they called it, but Saturday, and suggesting that, as David danced before the ark, the legality of dancing was a question on which the bishops might decide before it was altogether forbidden—such a House of Commons was not likely to impress men like Hooker or Andrewes with respect, or King James either,'

wrote Bishop Stubbs of an earlier stage in the same controversy.[1]

The divergence was even more marked under Charles I. between Parliament and Puritan on the one side, and men of Laud's impatient temper and the king's despotic theory on the other. In the mass of evidence collected against Laud, there is none more characteristic of popular feeling than that of Richard Culmer, a minister suspended by the dean and some of the prebendaries of Canterbury, sitting as the Archbishop's commissioners at his metropolitan visitation, for refusing to publish 'the book for Sabbath dancing.' Culmer and two other ministers, Player and Heiron, continued so suspended for above three and a half years. Immediately after their suspension, says the evidence, they jointly petitioned the Archbishop for absolution at Lambeth, but he, having

[1] *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, 3rd edition, pp. 376–7.

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read the petition, said, 'If you know not how to obey I know not how to grant,' and departed; and afterward, being divers times severally petitioned by them, he refused to absolve them until the Bishops' war against the Scots began.

'When I petitioned the Archbishop one time,' said Culmer, 'he being in a great rage said, "Consideration—I will take nothing into consideration, and if you conform not all the sooner I'll take a more round course with you;" and so saying he threw Mr. Culmer's petition at him violently. So the Archbishop suffered me to continue suspended and deprived by the patron, who gave away my living immediately upon my suspension; so I had not one farthing profit of my ministry or living for three and a half years, having myself, my wife, and seven children to provide for.'

It is easy to understand the bitter feeling aroused by such action. In some districts for the time it succeeded; the eyes of Laud seemed to be everywhere; Nonconformity was reduced to a minimum. But the opposition was as strong as ever in the background.

While the new supervision was having its effect in many parts of the country, many more strictly ecclesiastical rules and customs of Elizabethan, and indeed much earlier, times survived. Private confession was far from uncommon. The teaching of typical Churchmen was clear on the point. George Herbert spoke of its necessity in some cases; Bishop Bayly, in his *Practice of Piety*, a book of extraordinary popularity, emphasized the same view; Donne contemplated the likelihood of such confession being made before every Communion. Among those who are known thus to have confessed are Charles I., Buckingham, Strafford, and Ferrar. The Duchess of Buckingham, says Hacket, had Bishop Williams for 'her ghostly father.'

Preaching was not regular in every place, and it was for this reason, no doubt, as well as for the propagation of particular opinions, that lectureships were so frequently established. Dr. Kettell, President of Trinity and vicar of Garsington, rode out every Sunday to preach at his country living. But the lack of rule was the real difficulty of the time, and the demand for a 'preaching ministry' was really a protest against individualism. Men could do what they

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liked. Thus, Tobie Matthew preached incredibly often, Richard Neile incredibly seldom, when each was archbishop of York. But the ideal was that of George Herbert: 'The country parson preacheth constantly; the pulpit is his joy and his throne.'

In the universities the sermons in the University Church were regularly kept up, but were generally, it would appear, more controversial than edifying. Laud had experience of being convented for a sermon which contradicted the prevailing Calvinism, and of being answered in terms which exceeded even the liberal licence of the Puritan pulpit. There were sermons also in the college chapels on days of particular obligation to each college. Much that was loose custom was revived and fixed at Oxford under Laud's chancellorship; and the college chapels, while they retained many curious individual customs, tended to follow the uses of the cathedral churches.

The early seventeenth century was a period strong in controversial divinity. It was a period also of very earnest effort after a revival of spiritual life. Among the Churchmen of Charles I.'s days there are names of saints that will last as long as English literature or English religion. So rich, indeed, is the age in memories of men of learning and devotion that a selection of the greatest names must give an inadequate picture of the widespread influence of the Church, if it is not remembered that in many a village the Herbert was as conspicuous as the Hampden. In the Court, the city, the country, the Cross of Christ was held up before men by many a great preacher and many a humble saint. Perhaps no age has afforded more conspicuous examples of men in high position, or of great literary ability, turning to the ministry of the Church for the exercise of their best energies or for the sanctification of their maturest powers. Names that stand out are those of Donne, Wotton, Hales, Ferrar, Herbert, Cosin; and all of them, it is notable, had some special connection with Archbishop Laud.

The life of Donne has recently been so fully written by Mr. Edmund Gosse and by Dr. Jessopp, and the hasty errors of the former writer and of Mr. Leslie Stephen have been

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so carefully pointed out by Professor Beeching in the *Athenæum* and by the author of *Conferences on Books and Men*, that we need not here dwell on the remarkable career of the great poet-preacher. After a stormy youth, Donne's middle life was saintly and sincere. From the death of his wife in 1617 he lived an ascetic life. As preacher at Lincoln's Inn, as rector of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and from 1621 as dean of St. Paul's, he had full opportunity for the exercise of his great gift. It was a gift which he sedulously cultivated.

'The latter part of his life,' says his friend and biographer, Izaak Walton, 'may be said to be a continual study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the Fathers, and to commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burden of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of his friends, or some other diversion of his thoughts; and would say, that *he gave both his body and mind that refreshment that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness.*'

Thus prepared it was not wonderful that a man of such high literary gifts and such wide knowledge should become a great preacher; and Donne by his eloquence and spiritual fire was a potent mover in the work, which Laud on the material side so powerfully assisted, of making St. Paul's again a great centre of English religion. Walton's description of his preaching is not to be forgotten:

'He preached the Word so as to show that his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others; a preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to Heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others, by a sacred art and courtship, to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those who practised it, and a virtue so as to make it beloved even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace, and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.'

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From the time when he took holy orders Donne grew more and more of a recluse. He lived for his work and in his work; but his influence increased in intensity for the very fact that it was exercised apart from the Court or ordinary public life. Charles at times seems to have doubted the nature of his teaching. Once at least he sent for his sermon to read it over. But if he doubted, he was soon convinced, and in 1630 we know that the king designed to give him the next vacant bishopric. Laud's feeling is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that when Donne died he preached his funeral sermon.

Donne had been a close friend of the mother of another poet and saint, George Herbert. Herbert, the brother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was unlike Donne, in looking forward from the first to holy orders; but his brilliant abilities, and their recognition by the University of Cambridge, where he was Public Orator and Fellow of Trinity, as well as the favour of the king, seemed for a while to turn his thoughts from divinity. But after a time of some hesitation 'God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at His Altar.' His final resolve was only after 'such spiritual conflicts as none can think but only those that have endur'd them;' and when the living of Bemerton, near Salisbury, was offered to him, it was only the urgent persuasion of Laud, who told him that refusal would be a sin, which induced him to accept it. Now a married man, he was ordained priest, and went to live in his little parish. There he set forth with a holy simplicity the true life of 'a priest to the Temple.' Each day, when he read the Morning and Evening Services 'at the canonical hours of ten and four,' he had for congregation 'most of his parishioners and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, while some of the meaner sort would let their plough rest whenever Mr. Herbert's saint's-bell rang to prayers.' Already a poet of real inspiration as well as of happy conceit, Herbert wrote at Bemerton that picture of the ideal parish priest which is one of the best-treasured and most characteristic possessions of the English Church. The picture is one dictated by a 'humble conformity' to the authority of the Church, a simplicity born of a true self-denial and a perfect taste, and

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a shrewd good sense that mingles very happily with a fervent piety towards God. It shows how absorbing the duties of a parson were found by those who would adequately discharge them. So absorbed, Herbert lived but a few years in the work to which he had given his heart. He died in 1632, before the imminence of the troubles which his gentle soul did not foresee. Very different was the lot of his friend Nicholas Ferrar—like him, a man of affairs who took holy orders and sought a secluded place in which to worship and work for God. It was from Laud that Nicholas Ferrar, when he determined to serve in the ministry, sought ordination, and the archbishop presented the family to the king, and won for them sanction which, perhaps, the Bishop of Lincoln would not always readily have given. The household at Little Gidding is a beautiful picture in the disturbed history of the time. Hacket, chaplain to Bishop Williams, in whose diocese the village lay, gives perhaps the clearest picture of the life of its inmates. Williams, he says, at his second visitation found a congregation of saints at Little Gidding—mother, son, and daughters all given to God. All lived a single life, but Williams would not allow the daughters to take a vow of celibacy. Quietly, not fashionably dressed, giving entertainment only to the poor, living very plainly, with frequent fastings and giving of alms, they kept up offices of prayer continually. Twice daily they attended the Common Prayer in church, twice in their house they prayed together; and all day and all night someone was engaged in watching and in 'some private holy exercise.' With all this was no ostentation, but the meekest simplicity. In their parlour was hung up this letter of exhortation:

'He that by report of our endeavours will remonstrate that which is more perfect, and seek to make us better, is welcome as an Angel of God. He that by cheerful participating, and approbation of that which is good, confirms us in the same is welcome as a Christian friend. He that any way goes about to divert or disturb us in that which is as it ought to be among Christians (though it be not useful in this World) is a Burthen while he stays, and shall bear his judgement, whosoever he be. He that faults us in absence for that which in presence he made shew to approve, shall by a guilt of

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Flattery and Slander violate the Bands both of Friendship and Christianity.

Subscribed:

Mary Ferrar, Widow, Mother of this Family, aged about Fourscore Years, who bids adieu to all Hopes and Fears of this World, and only desires to serve God.'

It was a life of continual self-denial, entirely without ostentation or anything to attract public regard. But in troublous times it could not pass without suspicion. 'Envy or ignorance,' says Hacket, 'could guess no better at it but that it was a *casa professa* or convent pack'd together of some superstitious order beyond seas, or a nunnery, and that the sufferance of it looked towards a change in religion.' Such a charge was a strange confession that the Church of England could produce no mortified life, no observance of devotion like that of primitive days. Bishop Williams was too sagacious and too charitable to fall into so pitiable an error as to condemn these holy souls. 'God help us,' he said, 'if the best Protestants (for these may be called so) do look like Papists!' He visited them, gave them his blessing, and bade them proceed in the Name of God. Hacket, remembering the old days, before the wars scattered the 'Protestant nunnery' to the winds, with the sad contrast before him in the decay of public morals and private devotion, wrote with true feeling of sympathy and pathos. He had seen, and he bore record that the family of the Ferrars had been with Jesus. In his detailed picture there is the spirit of leisure in quiet days; and it was this which the Ferrar household made their own. In this they continued till the death of Nicholas Ferrar in 1637. Bishop Williams was in prison at the time, but Nicholas had visited him not long before his death, and the house retained a loyal affection for him. On his release in 1640 he again visited Little Gidding, and in a still kinder spirit than of old. He now permitted the vow of celibacy which Mary and Anna Collett had taken, and 'was armed to maintain their good resolutions.' A bitter attack had been made upon the house in a pamphlet called *The Arminian Nunnery*; Williams defended them, declaring that he 'knew they did practise nothing but what was according

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to the law of the Church of England.' But the shadows began to close around them. The king visited them in the earlier days of their community life; he visited them again in May 1642, and once more in 1646, just before he gave himself up to the Scots. Before the end of that year soldiers of the Parliamentary army sacked the church and house, and carried away plate, furniture, and provisions. The survivors lingered on at Little Gidding till, before all the original members of the community died, the rules were given up, and the house of peace, as Nicholas Ferrar designed it, ceased to exist.

A considerable literary as well as religious interest belongs to Little Gidding. The beautiful work of binding and the making of Concordances were not the only recreations of the household. Dialogues and interludes, discourses, to be recited each day, were made by the members of the family and read aloud in the evenings. These were tales with a moral purpose, but with not a little of romance in them, and they bear the same relation towards the tales in which the age delighted as the poems of Herbert bear to those of the wits of his day. The art is the same, the purpose different. And it is plain that Little Gidding was as good a school of letters as of piety.

The friendship of Nicholas Ferrar with George Herbert was almost entirely one of correspondence. When they left the great world, each lived a secluded life. It was not so with another famous courtier, Sir Henry Wotton. A famous ambassador and wit, poet, scholar, and diplomatist, the friend of Sarpi and of Bedell, he came to end 'the errors of his wandering life' at Eton as its provost, and a humble minister in the Church of Christ. Pleased to train children in learning and religion, he spent the last fifteen years of his life as a retired and cloistered man, paying a few country visits, and yearly a visit to Oxford, and

> 'Untied unto the world by care
> Of public fame or private breath.'

It was his hope that his example might make the children of great men 'not ashamed of the surplice'; and if the distraction

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of the times did not suffer many of those whom he had taught to enter holy orders, he had at least the satisfaction of leaving an example which spoke eloquently for charity as for learning and religion.

At Eton he made the friendship of the most learned of the Fellows of his society, 'the ever-memorable John Hales.' Both were sworn foes to religious disputation, men of a large outlook on life and a beautiful tolerance. Both were sincere in their faith. Hales believed 'that pride and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each other's communion; and he frequently said that that only kept the world from agreeing upon such a Liturgy as might bring them into one communion, all doctrinal points upon which men differed in their opinions being to have no place in any Liturgy.' It was the thought of a scholar, not a practical man of affairs; and such, too, was his book on *Schism*, which Laud looked at with suspicion. The Archbishop was to Wotton a patron and friend, and he proved himself able to sympathise also with Hales. He sent for him to Lambeth, and they talked long and, it seem to the chaplains who watched, hotly. Laud spoke earnestly, as he so constantly did, of the care that should be taken to preserve the peace and unity of the Church, disturbed by new doctrines which wits as well as fanatics set abroad. It is plain that he saw that Hales was of his own mind—firm in essentials, tolerant in matters of less import, and when there was a prebend of Windsor vacant he procured it from Charles for the scholarly recluse. But 'the Archbishop could not without difficulty persuade him to accept, and he did accept it rather to please him than to please himself, because he really believed he had enough before. He was one of the least men in the kingdom, and one of the greatest scholars in Europe.'

With such men among her clergy the English Church could meet the times that were to come with courage. She touched all classes of society and all sympathies. A parish priest like Herrick could enter into all the innocent gaieties of his parishioners, and write verses with the best wits of the town. Eighteen years a country parson in Devonshire, he was deprived in 1647, and went back to London to write and

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publish poems. The Restoration gave him his living again, and there he ended his days, dying in 1674 at the age of eighty-three. Illustrious as a poet among poets, he yet gave his best thoughts to God, and in his 'noble numbers' he strove to write simply for simple folk. In his parish, long after his death, people who could not read or write knew his Litany to the Holy Spirit by heart, and simple verse like his prayers and thanksgivings reached down to simple hearts in times of stress.

> 'Make, make me thine, my gracious God,
> Or with Thy staff, or with Thy rod;
> And be the blow, too, what it will,
> Lord, I will kiss it, though it kill.'

Words such as these were fit in the days of the Church's distress: so the thoughts of poets turned to prayer. Religious poetry was characteristic of the age. Sandys, Crashaw, Vaughan, men of quite different life and circumstances, unite in singing the praises of God in the Church, that home of peace, where are

> 'No cruel guard of diligent cares, that keep
> Crown'd woes awake, as things too wise for sleep:
> But reverent discipline, and religious fear,
> And soft obedience, find sweet biding here;
> Silence, and sacred rest; peace, and pure joys.'

Cartwright, as poet and preacher, was another of those who sang as they prayed; and so were George Wither and Giles Fletcher.

The fashion of religious verse hardly survived the Civil Wars, but the characteristic of English religion in the days of the later Caroline divines—the mass of devotional literature—began while Charles I. was king by the publication of Cosin's *Collection of Private Devotions* in 1627. It was a book written at the first to supply the ladies of the Court with private prayers of their own, so that they should not be attracted by the foreign books that the queen pressed upon them. Based upon a primer of Elizabeth's time, it provided a systematic course of devotion according to the principles of the Reformed Church. But its insistence on the sacramental

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teaching of the Church, and its recognition of prayers for the dead, produced a series of violent attacks from every quarter, lay and clerical, among men of Puritan sympathies. None the less it served its end. A number of editions were rapidly issued, and there can be no doubt that it did much to confirm the attachment of many to the Church of their fathers.

In several books of the time we have a picture of a famous household trained on these lines. At Great Tew, some sixteen miles from Oxford, there gathered a literary and theological society of famous wits. Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland, the son of the clever spendthrift who had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland and the eccentric Eliza, daughter of Chief Baron Tanfield, had sold the Burford property, which came to him from his grandfather, and settled on his father's estate at Tew. Himself a scholar and wit, his friends were wits and scholars too; but gradually the theological interest came to predominate. He was a great admirer of Donne whom he eulogized as

> 'The voice of truth,
> God's conduit-pipe for grace, Who chose him for
> His extraordinary ambassador.'

His house, says Aubrey, was like a college full of learned men. Among them were Chillingworth, 'his most intimate and beloved favourite,' Earle, Eglionby, Hammond, and Sheldon; 'nor,' in the phrase of Clarendon, 'did the lord of the house know of their coming and going, nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together whose company they could wish and not find in any other society. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote, and formed and modelled his excellent book against the learned Jesuit, Mr. Nott, after frequent debates upon the most important particulars.' The letters of Falkland's wife, Lettice Morison, show her to have been one of the most saintly women of the age. Devout, obedient, and simple in her religion, following the rules of the Church in

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prayer and fast and thanksgiving with pious regularity, she found the spiritual experiences of the saints reproduced in her life, their penitence, their dryness, their infinite consolations. The particulars of her life which her chaplain. Dr. John Duncan, added to the letters, when they were printed in 1648, give a remarkable picture of holiness. They describe the employments of a great lady who watched over the poor and sick of her estates, who treated her servants as friends, and whose plans for education and charity went far beyond the ideas of her time. Such lives, it is plain, could still be lived peacefully in the country, though the land resounded with the clash of arms. It was in such a household that Chillingworth framed his tolerant defence of 'the Religion of Protestants'; there that he solemnly re-affirmed his belief (which modern writers have again doubted) in 'the doctrine of the Trinity, the deity of our Saviour, and all other supernatural verities revealed in Holy Scripture'; and it was there that, in converse with learned men and with a saintly wife, Falkland confirmed the faith which led him to take up the sword for Church and king.

It was the aim of the school to which men such as Falkland and Hammond and Cosin belonged to make clear the appeal of the Church to every side of life, the claim of religion to rule over all that belonged to the interests of mankind. Therein lay one of the greatest of the contrasts between the Puritan and the man of the school of Laud. To the former life must be lived ever in the Great Taskmaster's eye, and the task that He set seemed to involve an elimination of much that was innocent and healthy. Puritanism grew in sternness. Music as well as dancing, the old-fashioned English amusements of wrestling and archery, as well as the brutal sports of bull- and bear-baiting, were excluded from their view of what was lawful to a Christian. Because they were virtuous there should be no more cakes and ale. But their teaching, strained and uncharitable though it often became, was a needed protest against luxury, idleness, and ungodly ways. The general relaxation of morals which followed the Reformation had left its disastrous fruits in carelessness and recklessness among all classes. And there was a grandeur about

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the stern Calvinistic creed, with all its contrast to the fundamental conception of Christianity, which gave a bracing influence to English religious life. The thought that all men, apart from any action of their own, were predestinate of God to glory or destruction, 'quia voluit,' had an immense power over strong and valiant hearts. The voice of God seemed perpetually to call the elect to new acts of service and of vengeance on His enemies. The lot was cast, and the elect, saved without a whisper of their own, must, by every noble inspiration of their hearts, give themselves to the work of God without distraction from any human call. To those who sang with Herbert and prayed with Cosin, life had a different aspect. The world was full of the beauty and goodness of God. He willed all men to repent and to come to the knowledge of the truth. Art, music, poetry, were His gifts, to be consecrated to His service; the riches of life, on every side, were His. Nothing that was man's, save only sin, was alien from His love. And as the holy mysteries which He had ordained were instituted to link heaven to earth, so the worshipper must consecrate every beauty of nature as well as every thought of his own heart to the Trinity of Love and Power from Whom all blessings flowed.

How narrow, when we read the intimate details of the daily life of those days, when we compare Herbert and the Ferrars with the Hutchinsons and Mary Rich, seems the division between the two parties, at least in spiritual things. But men who feel most deeply have often fought about trifles. The House of Commons, when it turned to discuss theology, was stirred by the most childish gossip. When Cromwell first raised his voice it was because, in 1629, he remembered that Dr. Beard had told him that Bishop Neile had ordered him, in 1617 not to controvèrt a preacher who had approved some 'tenets of Popery.' The preacher was Dr. Alablaster, whom Herrick exalted in his verse. 'Men's minds,' says Fuller of this time, 'were exasperated with such small occasions as otherwise might have been passed over and no notice taken thereof.' It is not hard for us now, when the stern simplicity of the Calvinist creed has lost its power, to discern how close, but for it, the pious spirits of both parties were to each other and to God.

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ART. IV.—NOVELS OF IRISH PEASANT LIFE.

1. *Castle Daly.* By Miss KEARY. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1876.)
2. *Hurrish: a Study.* By the Honble. EMILY LAWLESS. (London: Methuen and Co., 1896.)
3. *Grania: the Story of an Island.* By the same. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1897.)
4. *Mrs. Martin's Company, and other Stories.* By JANE BARLOW. (London: Dent, 1896.)
5. *Irish Idylls.* By the same. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1892.)
6. *Some Experiences of an Irish R.M.* By E. Œ. SOMERVILLE and MARTIN ROSS. (London: Longmans, 1899.)
7. *My New Curate.* By the Rev. P. A. SHEEHAN, P.P. (London, 1900.)

IT was not until the beginning of last century that any successful attempt was made to represent the Irish as they really are in their own country. There were, indeed, gross caricatures of national character, which condensed in one impossible person all the qualities supposed to be specially Irish. Even more popular, perhaps, was the simple combination of brogue and blunder that was made to do duty for the typical Irishman, both on the stage and in fiction. If we put aside a few well-drawn figures in the plays of Sheridan and other contemporary writers, these were the only representations of the Irishman known in England. It was Miss Edgeworth who first treated the Irish seriously, and wrote of them with intelligence and sympathy. Hitherto the comic Irishman had been taken out of his own country, put into unknown surroundings, and used as a foil to the more solid English character. But Miss Edgeworth carries the English reader over the sea, and by her graphic sketches of life makes him tread with her the Irish soil, breathe the atmosphere of the country, and become familiar with the home life of the people, both gentle and simple. Miss Edgeworth never wrote anything better than *Castle Rackrent* and *The*

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Absentee, but it must remain her greatest distinction that, according to Sir Walter Scott's own statement, she inspired him to write the Waverley Novels.

'Without being so presumptive,' he says in his general preface, 'as to hope to emulate the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact which pervade the works of my accomplished friend, I felt that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind as that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland—something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their foibles.'

It was, we believe, Miss Edgeworth's Irish novels that also suggested to Tourguéneff to write his tales of Russian peasant life.

In reading Miss Edgeworth we must admit that we do not become acquainted with the deeper forces which have influenced both the people and the fortunes of the country. There is a careful avoidance of religious and political questions, and scarcely a hint of the passionate discontent caused by the injustice of the penal laws. In judging of the darker features of the character of a nation, it is necessary to distinguish between what is natural and what is the result of circumstances. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that in Ireland we have a nation who for centuries have struggled against misrule and religious oppression, with the result that under certain conditions their moral sense becomes blunted and deteriorated. The Irish peasant, when his feelings have been fomented by political agitation, seeks to right his wrongs, real or imagined, by crime, amid the universal sympathy of his neighbours, who look upon him as a hero and a martyr. Mischief of this nature is not easily undone; for the past is always whispering in the ear of the Celt, and reminding him of what it were well for his own happiness that he should forget.

In *Castle Daly* Miss Keary gives us a faithful picture both of the violent misdeeds and of the uncomplaining patience of the people at a time when Ireland was not only decimated by famine, but also torn by internal revolution. It is a book

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to which the words that Ruskin is reported to have said of *The Absentee* may fitly be applied: 'You can learn more by reading it of Irish politics, than from a thousand columns out of a Blue Book.' Miss Keary through her imaginative sympathy realizes not only the larger issues involved, but those subtler contrasts of character that make it difficult for the English and Irish to understand one another. Strange as it may seem, she only spent a fortnight in Ireland in her life; but her father was Irish, and had so impressed her mind with the 'sweet misty pictures of the West' that after her visit she found little to alter in her descriptions of the country which she had chosen as the scene of her plot. *Castle Daly* is the story of an Irish family in the forties. The owner is a typical Irishman, endowed with the virtues and the faults of his race. On a visit to England he is captivated by the dainty reserved grace of the daughter of a well-ordered English house; he thinks she has just the qualities wanted to remedy the evils that he feels incompetent to combat, and that the ardour of his love will awake her from her somewhat cold stillness. When the story opens, which is after twenty years of married life, his sanguine nature has not given up hopes of making her more responsive. But a continually unsuccessful attempt to check her husband's light-hearted extravagance, and some years of ill-health, combined with a sad temperament, have not helped to make the well brought up English girl adapt herself to her surroundings.

In the first chapters of *Castle Daly* we have a delightful picture of a happy-go-lucky Irish home, the centre to which all the peasants congregate from the surrounding mountains in their joys and sorrows, to have a word with the 'masther,' a friendly talk with Ellen and Connor, the two younger children, and a meal in the hospitable kitchen. The most interesting personality in the book is undoubtedly Anne O'Flaherty, an old maid, who lives in a lonely valley, spending her life in trying to cure Irish evils by Irish virtues, and who by the arresting qualities of her mind makes the wild peasant population both love and obey her. Miss Keary treats all her characters with sympathy. Even the dogmatic brother-in-law is given his due: he is one of those Englishmen

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who is convinced that all that is wanted in Ireland are English methods administered by a firm hand, and who speaks to the people 'not angrily, but in the cheerful decided tone he thought appropriate to uneducated people, whose intellects could only be reached by strong words or shouting.' It is scarcely possible to praise too highly the skill with which the English agent and his sister, who come over to restore order in the chaos of Mr. Daly's affairs, are drawn. Their high-minded and conscientious but ungenial dealings with a peasantry unused to *impersonal* treatment and distracted by famine and political ferment forms the chief interest of the book. The difference of the old system carried on by Anne O'Flaherty and the new as introduced by the agent, Mr Thornley, is well described in their first interview. The wisdom or folly of the work of Anne's life is in question. She shows the practical young agent her industrial works, and expounds to him all her most cherished schemes for the betterment of the people. He listens politely, and then proves by well argued and thoroughly established laws how baseless all Anne's arguments are, and how sure her work is to fall to pieces in the long run.

'He stood still and looked over the valley lying in the golden sunset, where the labourers stood in groups about the gates of their garden enclosures, and the women came out and put their babies into their fathers' arms, and children filled the air with joyous evening clamour, and he talked quite calmly of the inevitable evils attending subdivision of the land, and the certainty that an over-stimulated population like the one he was surveying must come at last to the point of being decimated by want and sickness. . . . . "You are young yet," Anne said with a deep sigh. "If you live to be as old as I am, and by chance get interested in the lives and troubles of the poor people you reside among—I think you could—you will learn to be glad to take the most practical way that comes to hand of rescuing them from present degradation and suffering, and you will leave remote consequences to take their chance."

'"I shall know that the remote consequences must come when they are due. I shall not expect by any efforts of mine to bring about results which economical and social laws are dead against."

'"You speak about laws as if they were alive," cried Anne; 'horrible, heartless things—I don't believe in them. I believe in

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God, and I don't think He is dead against honest effort to do good to our fellow-creatures, even if it be a somewhat mistaken one. He will take care that some good, physical or moral or spiritual, comes out of it somehow."

'Mr. Thornley shrugged his shoulders. . . . Here were questions which he had decided did not concern him, into the discussion of which he absolutely and always refused to be drawn.'

Mr. Thornley acts according to his theories, and deals blind justice to the people of whose characters and convictions he knows nothing. He is quite unaware that to them his justice appears like the cruellest wrong and injury. But when he is brought face to face with crimes and tragedies, and when the death 'keen' of famine drowns all other voices, both John Thornley and Anne O'Flaherty come to acknowledge their mistakes and limitations. Anne sees that there are other laws besides hers ruling in her populous valley, laws that could not be ignored; and Mr. Thornley recognizes that it is at least as important to understand human beings as it is to know political economy. He says, in a conversation with Ellen Daly, after they had knelt together in the cabin of the starved family of the man who had intended to murder him:

'I begin to see where the fault lies. A few minutes ago I was saying vehemently to myself that at least I have been guilty of no injustice, yet I felt that the sting of remorse would not strike so deep if I were really blameless. Now I see how it is. I ought never to have come here knowing so little of the people I had to deal with, having scarcely glanced at the problems that rise up before me now as almost unfathomable.'. . .

He is beginning dimly to perceive that there is a spiritual side to the character of some of those peasants whom he had looked upon as merely squalid and improvident. One day he follows Ellen into the little whitewashed chapel:

'The women drew apart as he approached to make room for him at her side, and almost involuntarily he knelt down a little way behind her. There was preaching going on. He had not come in at the beginning, and could not make out whether any text for the sermon had been given out; but the sentence "Man doth not live by bread alone" was repeated several times by the preacher, and

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each time a groan of acquiescence burst forth from the pale lips of the famine stricken people kneeling round, who seemed to hang upon the speaker's words as if they were food indeed. Then the preacher went on to describe in glowing words, and with much metaphor and eloquence the spirit life—nourished by the true bread—into the full enjoyment of which the good priest who had addressed his flock from that spot two days ago, had now entered. At another time John might have listened critically, questioning the wisdom or the utility of such an exercise under such circumstances; but now, kneeling on the mud floor, among the sea of pale faces that were gradually losing their ghastliness under the illumination of hope in the Unseen thus set forth before eyes that in every other quarter beheld only despair, he could not question.'

Though *Castle Daly* was written in 1875, the story deals with a time when Ireland, owing to unequal laws and social anomalies, afforded a peculiarly rich and varied field for the novelist. In later years when Ireland has sat heavily on the conscience of England, and English statesmen have been inspired to treat Ireland not only with justice but with generosity, civilizing influences have penetrated to the remotest parts of the country; and as an inevitable result, there is less of that picturesqueness in which, as Sydney Smith observes, utility and order are the last ingredients. But fit materials both for the agitator and the novelist are yet to be found in Ireland, and when Miss Lawless wrote her first novel, *Hurrish: a Study*, political disturbance was rife. Irish patriotism, apart from the professional agitator, owes much of its reality and permanence to the fact that it is largely made up of sentiment, and sentiment pervades the whole nature of the Celt and influences all the relations of his life. It is, perhaps, *the* quality which makes it difficult for the English and Irish to understand one another, for it is one that is peculiarly irritating to the common-sense of a successful race. It is sentiment that makes the Irishman fight against the inevitable, and refuse to accept the despotism of facts. This is that 'eternal source of folly' which, as Renan says, all the Celtic races have in their hearts, and the very malady which is their charm. Even love is more a sentiment than a passion with the Celt. The satisfaction of sense does not so much appeal to him as emotion and excitement. Love is in-

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separably connected with the home, the village, the chapel, and all he has been familiar with since his birth. If the sentiment of the Celt were united with the sanity, the perseverance, and the steadiness of the Saxon, the result would not be far from genius, for true sensibility means spiritual perception, quick sympathies, and an intimate fellowship with the mysteries of nature. Authors who, like Miss Lawless, have succeeded in bringing out this predominant characteristic, have produced the most living pictures of Irish peasant life. But Miss Lawless is not only a writer of fiction; her readers feel that she has also much of the inward vision which belongs to the poet and the mystic.

The scene of *Hurrish* is laid in a wild desolate region in the West, and the story gives us an admirable picture of the land war in Ireland in recent times. The characters are few, but singularly distinct. Hurrish, his mother Bridget, his niece Alley, and her lover Maurice Brady, stand out like cameos against their background of grey bare rock. Hurrish, a loose-limbed, good-natured giant, is half farmer, half fisherman:

'He was a sentimentalist—though he had never heard the word; and the ground which he was born on—that rock-bound ground was the object of his sentimental worship. . . . To Hurrish, life in general, past, present, and future, was an abounding mystery, which might be understood perhaps by Father Dennehy, or other competent authorities, but into which he himself never dreamt of probing.'

Though he had been brought up a Fenian, and hatred to England was part of his creed, yet temperamentally he was out of sympathy with crime and bloodshed, and in this respect he is a grievous disappointment to his old mother who lives with him. She is an ardent patriot of the cruel and vindictive sort; it is she who knows the why and the wherefore of all the agrarian outrages, and she is the first to raise the war-cry of exultation in which she fails to persuade her son to join.

'For what, it may be asked, is a good-natured and naturally gregarious man to do, when all the sociability of his neighbourhood is concentrated round one single focus, and that focus a criminal one? His own impulses were all of the old-fashioned, easy-going,

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jovial kind. He hated fighting—except, of course, the open and fisticuff variety—he hated dark deeds and dark secrets, and everything that savoured of unpleasantness and treachery. He would have liked from year's end to year's end to live in the same genial, friendly fashion, the same happy-go-lucky indifference to the future. Pity such natures when their lot has been cast into the bitter yeast of a social revolution. They are the clay pots among the iron ones, and the fate of the clay pot is theirs.'

Hurrish has a very warm spot in his heart for his niece Alley. She is, we are told, one of a type not uncommon in Ireland, a born nun, to whom the convent appeals not only from a religious motive, but as a welcome refuge from the perils of the world. For to a nature like hers 'the horizon of fear will always be far, far wider than that of hope.' If Maurice Brady had not asked her to marry him, she would have joined her sister in a convent. She does not love Maurice; she hardly knows what love is, and all she has to bestow is given to her uncle, whom she adores. But Maurice dazzles her with his handsome face and educated speech. He belongs to the Americanized, modern, progressive species of Irishmen, a species becoming more common every day. He is the exact opposite of Hurrish, and is in no way a sentimentalist, but he does not altogether gain by this loss. Between Maurice and Alley the gulf that separates the practical self-seeker from the sentimentalist is fixed; and when he tells her that he will take her away to Limerick, or may be to Dublin itself, and give her the best of meat and drink and dress her as a lady, the idea only terrifies her and does not appeal to her in the least. She tells him,

'Me heart seems just tied to the things I know. . . . I don't seem able to think of going away—not altogether. I'm like them little yellar shtrokes ye may see round the idges of the say pools, that go jumpin' an' hoppin' an' dancin', an' pullin' away, as if they was wantin' to be flyin' off all over the country; and all the while they niver get raaly away from the wather, and I don't suppose they're wantin' to naither.'

Alley's pure and childlike personality permeates the dark tragedy that gradually gathers round Hurrish, whose easy-going genial nature seems singularly ill-suited to play a tragic

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part in a struggle which is forced on him, not by any militant will power of his own, but by the environment of which he is the victim. Alley finds her natural refuge in a convent, and Maurice, branded and scorned as an informer, flies to America.

Miss Lawless's second Irish novel, *Grania: the Story of an Island*, is perhaps a work of higher artistic merit than *Hurrish*, because it is untrammelled by the disturbing influences of passing conditions. It is more concerned with what is universal in human nature, and affects us with the quiet power of elemental tragedy, though the story is limited to a description of the life of a few peasants in a small island in the Atlantic—an island so barren and windswept that the reader is tempted to think that the mere effort of living would absorb every faculty and leave no room for the cultivation of any of the finer arts of life. But Miss Lawless, even when she writes in her most minor key, softens the harsh and disfiguring things of reality and conveys an artistic emotion, too sad indeed to be exactly pleasurable, yet far removed from the harsh impression produced by direct contact with squalid life. Unfortunately, dirt and discomfort are still only too prevalent among the peasants in Ireland; but when they are found, as is often the case, combined with delicacy of feeling, modesty and well-bred consideration for others, the ideals of their lives are far removed from squalor, whatever their material surroundings may be. Miss Lawless is specially successful in revealing the more attractive qualities of the peasants, and this gift, together with a delicate sense of humour, brightens the somewhat sombre tone of her writing.

There is a distinct flavour about the style of *Grania*. The characters do not talk with the usual brogue—which, we learn from the dedication to the book, Miss Lawless considers 'a tiresome necessity always,' and one which can be dispensed with when no single character can talk a word of English. Apparently the conversations must first have been written in Irish and afterwards translated into English, and the result is at once poetical and racy of the soil. We first make acquaintance with Grania when as a child she is sitting in

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her father's hooker in the Bay of Galway—a wild little figure with the vivid dark southern colouring so often to be met with in the West of Ireland. Her father, Con O'Malley, of Inishmaan, one of the Aran Islands, might have passed as an ideal picture of the typical Connaught peasant. But in one respect he was not typical, for he had ventured so far to depart from the custom of his class as to make a love match, and this as a second marriage, without even youth as an excuse. His first marriage had been of the usual kind, settled with a due and punctilious regard to the number of cows, pigs, pots, and pans that each side could produce. But his wife died, leaving one daughter, and we learn that some years after he outraged public opinion by falling in love with a girl from the 'Continent,' as the islanders call the mainland, a tall, magnificently handsome creature who had not a possession of any sort in the world.

'It was a genuine love match on both sides, that rarest of rare phenomena in peasant Ireland. That it would, as a matter of course and for that very reason, turn out disastrously, was the opinion loudly expressed of every experienced matron, not in Inishmaan alone, but for forty miles around that melancholy island. A 'black stranger,' a 'foreigner,' a girl 'from the Continent' not related to anyone or belonging to the place! worse than all, a girl without a penny piece, without a stool or a feather-bed to add to the establishment! There was not a woman, young or old, living on the three islands but felt a sense of intense personal degradation whenever the miserable affair was so much as alluded to before her.'

But in spite of all these dark prophecies, the marriage was a most happy and successful one.

But the happiness was short-lived, and in three years Con O'Malley was again a widower, with one little girl, Grania. When the second part of the story opens, six years later, he too is dead, and Grania, a tall vigorous maiden, is left to the pious care of her half-sister, Honor, who is a confirmed invalid. Grania is a source of great anxiety to her sister, who adores her, for she is a born rebel, and will not accept all Father Tam and Honor's teaching without question. 'This, rather than her own broken health, her own fast approaching death, was the real sting and sorrow of Honor's life, the

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sorrow that, day after day, impaled her upon its thorns, and woke her up pitilessly a dozen times in the night to impale her afresh.' But Grania possesses many of the finer human qualities, honesty, courage, pitifulness for the weak, and an underlying and scarcely recognized current of passion, inherited, it may be, from some far off Spanish ancestor. It was probably this unusual quality that made her neighbours still suspicious of her as a 'foreigner,' as we see from the following conversation between two old women:

'"Auch, my word, just look at the length of her! My word, she is the big girl that Grania O'Malley, the big girl out and out! . . . It is the mighty queer girl that she is though! God look down on us this day, but she is the queerest girl ever I knew on this earth yet, that same Grania O'Malley. Yes, indeed, yes." . . .

'"Auch, Rosha Durane, don't be overlooking the girl. 'Tis a decent father's child she is, any way," said the aunt from the other side of the island, apparently from an impulse of amiability, in reality by way of stimulating Rosha to a further exposition of what Grania's special queerness consisted in.

'"Did I say Con O'Malley was not a decent man? Saints make his bed in heaven this day, when did I say it?" The other answered, apparently in hot indignation, but in reality perfectly understanding the motive of her aunt's remark. "What I do say, and what is known to all Inishmaan, and that it is no invention of mine nor yet thought of by me, is that he was a very wild queer man. And Grania is just the same; she is a very wild queer girl, and a bold one too, and so I suppose I may say even in my own house, and before you, Mrs. O'Flanagan, though you are my mother's sister, that's these seven years gone back to glory. . . . She has no fear of anything, not of anything at all, I tell you, neither upon the earth nor under it either—God keep us from speaking of harm, Amen. She will as soon cross a fairies' ring, as not! Just the same and sooner, and it is not two months, or barely three at the most, that I saw her with my own eyes walk past a red jackass on the road, and it braying hard enough to split at the time, and not crossing herself, no, nor a bend of the head, nor spitting even! It is the truth I am telling you, Mrs. O'Flanagan, ma'am,' though you may not choose to believe me, the truth and no lie!"'

Grania is engaged to Murdough Blake, the constant companion of her childhood, and it has never occurred to her to think of marrying anyone else. As for Murdough, his views on

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marriage are those of his class—largely a matter of barter and convenience, and the convenience to him of marrying the richest and strongest girl in Inishmaan is distinctly unmistakable. He is not in the least emotional or imaginative as regards marriage, for all the emotion and the very large share of imagination he possesses he bestows upon himself. He is handsome, lazy, and self-indulgent, but he succeeds in surrounding himself with a glamour which has always imposed on Grania. The tragedy of her life begins when dimly and painfully she discerns the true character of the man she loves with all the force of her strong simple nature, though to acknowledge this love even to herself fills her with impatient shame. In the end Murdough fails her, and lets her go alone in a fog he will not face to fetch a priest to her dying sister, and death comes to her in a silent and unruffled sea. But the priest is in time.

'Honor was still alive and perfectly conscious of his coming. . . . After her long probation, after her tedious waiting, she was at last upon the verge of that looked for, that intensely desired country; a country which if to most of us it seems but a dream within a dream, a floating mirage, a phantom made up of love and faith, of hope and of yearning desire—unthinkable, untenable, all but impossible—was to Honor, and is to such as Honor, no phantom, no mirage, but the soberest and solidest of living realities; the thing for which they live, the hope for which they die. . . . Already even while the priest stood beside her, while the prayers she had so longed for, those prayers which Grania had died to obtain for her, were being uttered, she was drifting across its borderland; already its sounds rather than his voice, rather than any earthly voices, were in her ears; already her foot was upon its threshold. And upon that threshold, perhaps—who knows, who can tell?—they met.'

It is almost a relief to turn from the sustained tragedy of *Grania* to Miss Barlow's idyllic pictures of peasant life. She too, like Miss Lawless, is an artist and a poet, but she works within narrower limits and with a lighter touch. It may be doubted whether any other Irish writer has sounded so many chords of sympathy, humour, and pathos. She creates, out of the most commonplace materials, idylls true to nature,

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which yet hold and charm the imagination. Her readers seem to hear the witty talk and quaint philosophies of the peasants as they toil in the misty rain, and she not only reproduces exactly and picturesquely their dialect, but has also a marvellous insight into the feelings and emotions of their hearts. She so identifies herself with the people that the language they use and the sentiments they express appear inevitable, even to those who are not familiar with the country. In this respect her stories may be compared to Carleton's best work, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.* We feel in both the same sincerity—not so much to be wondered at in Carleton, who was born and bred a peasant and writes from inner knowledge. But Miss Barlow enters through sympathy into a life of which she has not herself been part; and though we cannot claim for her the masculine vigour of Carleton, yet her intuition and delicacy of perception create an atmosphere in which her characters stand out as vividly as those of the great Irish writer.

Miss Barlow's stories are nearly all short, and each incident is so perfectly fitted into its context that it is difficult to detach anything in the form of quotation, or even to mention one sketch in preference to another. *Mrs. Martin's Company*, which gives its name to a small volume of stories, brings out the distinctive qualities of Miss Barlow's writing. Mrs. Martin is only a solitary, rheumatic old woman who lives at the end of a long lane. From one cause or another all her neighbours, on whom she depended for company, so essential to the happiness of an Irish peasant, have drifted away. She does not mind her poverty, but her loneliness eats into her very heart, for sometimes from week's end to week's end never a foot goes past her door. One day her solitude is relieved by a visit from her priest, who brings her a little present from foreign parts in the shape of a small alabaster statuette of the Virgin, which he takes out of its wrappings and puts on her tiny window-sill. Every evening the poor lonely soul says her prayers before the niche which contains the statuette, and prays the

'"Lady dear" to send "just a neighbour running in now and again; acushla, I wouldn't make bould to ask you for them to be living

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convanient alongside of me the way they was, but to see an odd sight of one, Lady jewel, if it wouldn't go agin you to conthrive that much. For it's onnatural still and quiet here these times, Lady dear, with sorra a livin' sowl comin' next or nigh me ever. But sure, 'tis the lonesome house you kep' yourself, Lady dear, one while, and belike you remember it yet, for all you've got back your company again, an' have you, glory be to God. And with the help of God it's slippin' over I'll be, meself one of these days to them that's gone from me, and no fear but I'll have the gran' company then. Only it's the time between whiles does seem long and dhrary."'

But the weeks went on into the spring and no company came, only a little green spray shot up from between the cracked mud at the foot of the statuette, which gradually grew and spread before the old woman's astonished eyes until the niche was filled with delicate tangled greenery out of which glimmered the white figure of the Virgin. But what, she thinks, is the use of this daily increasing wonder if there is no one with whom she can share it? So she takes courage and writes to the priest, and tells him that

'the Quarest that ever you witnessed has got clamberin' inside on the wall and the creelin' of it and the crawlin' of it would terrify you. Makin' offers now and again it does be to smoother the Houly Virgin, but sure I'd be long sorry to let it do that bad thrick, after all the goodness of your reverence.'

This letter naturally causes some uneasiness to the priest, who thinks poor Mrs. Martin must have gone clean demented. He goes himself, and brings others to wonder at, and if possible explain, the mysterious appearance. And soon its fame spreads far and wide over the townland, and the neighbours flock to see the surprising sight; and instead of wearying through long desolate afternoons there is a cheerful clack of tongues and clatter of cups in Mrs. Martin's kitchen when the 'Quarness' is naturally much discussed. But to Mrs. Martin's devout mind there is only one explanation:

'"Ah, women dear, what talk have we then at all, at all? Sure now it's clane clear in my own mind this instant minute that whatever it may be, 'twas the Virgin herself, Heaven bless her, set it growing there wid itself, just of a purpose to be fetchin' me in me company." "Thrue for you, Mrs. Martin, ma'am," said Mrs. Brennan.

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. . . "What else 'ud be apt to make it go clamberin' all round the image of her, as if it was her belongin'? And didn't the gentlemen tell you 'twas nothing that grows be rights next or nigh this counthry? Ah, for sure, 'tis from far enough 'tis come, if 'twas the likes of Them sent it. And a kind thought it was too, glory be to God."'

Mrs. Martin's theory was generally accepted, for it appealed to the religious sentiment of the people, and the once solitary old woman found herself the constant object of what might almost be called a pious pilgrimage.

In *Irish Idylls* we have a series of sketches of life in a village drawn with consummate skill and delicacy. In the chapter called 'A Wet Day,' there is a description at once poignantly pathetic and delightfully humorous of one day out of a long dripping series in the tiny village of Lisconnel, consisting of about six houses in the middle of a bog which stretches in brown monochrome for miles around. It is July, a month in the year when dinner is often a failure, for it very seldom happens that the potatoes hold out beyond June, and the new ones are not dug till August.

'Hence it follows that July, with its soon-glimmering, long-lingering daylight, when one wakens early, and has a great many hours to put over before it will be dusk enough to think of sleep again, is even proverbially a month of short commons and hunger; a Ramadan with no nightly feasting to make up for the day's abstinence; a Lent whose fast no church ordains or blesses. You might have safely laid a wager that eight out of the nine dinner parties assembled at Lisconnel on this wet day prospective potatoes were a theme of discussion, to which a wistful tone was often given by their absence in any more substantial form. At the Pat Ryan's, for instance, Mrs. Pat remarked hopefully. . . . "Well, I suppose we'll be diggin' next week, please goodness, if the weather's anyway christianable at all."

'"And bedad we wont then, nor after that agin," said her husband, "or may be the next week to the back o' that. Sure the forradest of them's scarce in flower yet, let alone a sign of witherin' on them."

'"Some people do say," Mrs. Pat said, looking disconcerted, "that they're fit enough for liften the first minyit ye see the colour of a blossom."

'"Some people says more than their prayers," Pat rejoined, with despondent sarcasm. . . .

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'"I am sure I dunno what pleasure anybody," said Mrs. McGurk, secretly attaching a definite idea to her indefinite pronoun, "can take in ruinating a poor person's bit of property. If I was ane now that had the mindin' of such things, and took notice of a little green field setting in the black of a bog, it's after I'd be to let it have its chanct, at any rate, to ripen itself the best way it could, than go for to sluice the great dowses of rain on the top of it, and have it all bathered and bet in flitterjigs like yon."

'"'Deed then, it's a pity to behould, so it is," said Mrs. Kilfoyle, "and as for plisure I see no signs of plisure for anybody in it, good or bad. It's liker a sort of accident, to my notion. Such a thing might happen ready enough, if you come to consider the power of wet there do be streelin' about over our heads. Sure them that has the conthroulin' of it might aisy slop down a sup too much of it on some little place widout any harm intendin', the same as you might be doin' yourself when you're fillin' a weeny jug out of a big can. I wouldn't wonder now if that was the way of it; just an accident like, and no thoughts of ruinating anythin'. . . ." They were interrupted by a summons from without; as peremptory-sounding as a sudden clatter of hail on your window-pane: "Mrs. Brian—Mrs. Brian—Mrs. Brian, ma'am." Mrs. Quigley, who lived nearly opposite to the Kilfoyles, was calling from over the wet way, very audibly exasperated. "I'll throuble you, ma'am, to speak to your Tim there. He's just afther slappin' a big sod o' turf over the dyke into the middle o' me chuckens, that went as nare doin' slaughter on the half of them as ever I saw. The crathurs were that terrified, I give you me word they lep up ten fut standing off of the ground." . . .

'"Tim," quoth Mrs. Brian to a cluster of huddled together heads, which were designing brocken-crockery works among the puddles at a short distance, "you'll sup sorrow wid a spoon of grief if I hear of your doin' anything agin to Mrs. Quigley's chickens."

'And therewith the incident would have terminated amicably, Tim being happily indifferent to the prospect of that often repeated repast, had not Mrs. Quigley's still vibrating wrath moved her to say, addressing nobody in particular, "Begob, it's a quare way some people has of bringin' up their childer to be mischievous little pests, whatever they get to meddlin' wid."

'Of course such a pointed thrust had to be parried, so Mrs. Brian at once bawled with very distinct enunciation, "Tim, Tim, come in out of that, and bring Norah and Biddy along wid you. *You've* got decent rags of clothes on you to be spoilt wid de wet, not the scandalious old scarecrow dudeens that some I could name think good enough to be makin' shows of their children in."

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'I doubt but that an unbiassed judge would have pronounced the respective wardrobes of the young Quigleys and the young Kilfoyles to be much on a par; however, Mrs. Quigley took the observation as it was meant, and rejoined: "Well, then, it's lucky for them if they've got anything dacent about them at all; for what else they're like to be gettin' where they come from excipt ignorance and impidence is more than I can say."'

These few extracts give a very inadequate idea of Miss Barlow's work, and we can only advise those of our readers who do not already know it to become acquainted with a writer who has struck out so happy and original a vein of story telling.

It is sometimes said that Irish politics have killed Irish wit, and no doubt the unrelenting war of the Land League did not encourage a light-hearted spirit. But sport, which has always been the chief bond between the classes in Ireland, still holds its place, and it is in the hunting field and at race meetings that the irrepressible humour of the people asserts itself, when the crushing influence of the agitator is removed. Miss Somerville and Miss Martin Ross, the authoresses of *Some Experiences of an Irish R. M.*, have made full use of these happy interludes in Irish social life, and have produced an irresistibly humorous series of sketches. Even those who find it difficult to appreciate Irish wit are carried away by the pure fun of these stories. A retired major is appointed resident magistrate in the West of Ireland, and gives an account of his experiences in society, in the hunting field, at the national sports, and at the petty sessions over which he presides. There is a freshness, a reality, a *joie de vivre* about this book which makes it most exhilarating, and we can hardly imagine any circumstances, however depressing, that would not be cheered by the reading of 'Lisheen Races,' 'Second Hand,' or 'Philippa's Fox Hunt.' The Irish peasant's talent of hitting off a scene or a situation with an appropriate phrase might be exemplified by endless quotations from these pages. The following is a sample of picturesque narrative:

'"I hadn't the switch barely thrimmed," repeated Slipper firmly, "when I heard the people screechin' and I seen Driscoll and

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Clancy comin' on, leppin' all before them an' owld Bocock's mare bellusin' an' powdherin' along, an' bedad! whatever obstackle wouldn't throw *her* down, faith she'd throw *it* down, an' there's the thraffic they had in it.

'"I declare to my sowl," says I, "if they continue on this way there's a great chance some one of them'll win," says I.

'"Ye lie!" says the band masther, bein' a thrifle fulsome after his luncheon.

'"I do not," says I, "in regard of seeing how soople them two boys is. Ye might observe," says I, "that if they have no convanient way to sit on the saddle, they'll ride the neck o' the horse till such time as they get an occasion to lave it," says I.

'"Arrah, shut your mouth!" says the band masther; "they're puckin' out this way now, an' may the divil admire me!" says he, "but Clancy has the other bet out, and the divil such leatherin' and beltin' of owld Bocock's mare ever you seen as what's in it!" says he.

'"Well, when I seen them comin' to me, and Driscoll about the length of the plantation behind Clancy, I let a couple of bawls.

'"Skelp her, ye big brute!" says I. "What good's in you that you ar'n't able to skelp her?"

'The yell and the histrionic flourish of his stick with which Slipper delivered this incident brought down the house. . . .

'"Well, Mr. Flurry, and gintlemen," recommenced Slipper, "I declare to ye when owld Bocock's mare heard thim roars she sthretched out her neck like a ghander, and when she passed me out she gave a couple of grunts and looked at me as ugly as a Christian.

'"Hah!" says I, givin' her a couple o' dhraws o' th' ash plant across the butt o' the tail, the way I wouldn't blind her; "I'll make ye grunt! I'll nourish ye!"'

Some Experiences of an Irish R. M. is certainly the most amusing Irish book that has appeared in recent years, and is in itself a sufficient contradiction to those who hold that women are wanting in humour. We hope that the authoresses will again earn our gratitude by once more contributing to the gaiety of life.

The last book on our list, *My New Curate*, by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P.P., is different in character and scope from those previously noticed. It is a book of unusual interest in itself, and has the rare peculiarity of being written by a Roman Catholic priest resident in the south of Ireland. In bygone

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years the priest and his people were bound together not only by the ties of kindred, but by suffering endured together under the penal laws. In recent times the political movement with its socialistic doctrine, and its rebellion against law and order, has strained the relations between Rome and the priests, running counter, as it does, to the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. The priests, therefore, have had to face the painful choice between siding with the peasant class, to which they are united by every historic memory as well as by family affection, and obeying the authoritative voice of Rome. At the critical moment the greater number threw over the Papal authority, and it seemed as if the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland had placed itself in the position of a schismatic body. Since the political agitation has subsided there has been, apparently, an anxious desire on the part of some of the bishops and priests to recover the spiritual hold over the people which they were in danger of forfeiting by throwing themselves into a movement which could only be maintained by crime. The author of *My New Curate* would, if we mistake not, divert the influence of the priest from political into religious channels, and show the beauty of that simple and primitive piety which is natural to the Irish people. The book attracts by its spirit of religious aspiration, by its charm and humour, but the conclusions at which it arrives are deeply pessimistic. It is obvious that the author has a profound disbelief in all those elements of economic progress and enlightenment on which the material welfare of Ireland must in future depend.

In *My New Curate* Father Sheehan tells the story of a scholarly priest who is sent to a remote Irish village on the shores of the Atlantic. He arrives at his new parish, young, ardent, full of glorious hopes, but the inértia, which the author tells us is incurable in Ireland, by degrees paralyses both him and his dreams, and at the age of seventy, when the story begins, he describes himself as 'poor old Daddy Dan, with no great earthly trouble indeed, and some few consolations—my Breviary, and the grand Psalms of Hope—my daily Mass and its hidden and unutterable sweetness—the love of little children and their daily smiles—the prayers of my old women, and, I think, the reverence of the men.' Father Dan

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is a most lovable character, and gives us a singularly beautiful impression of the ideal relationship between the priest and his people, though he feels that he himself falls far short of it.

But readers of *My New Curate* must be warned that Father Sheehan's clerics cannot be said to be typical of the Irish priesthood. They are, no doubt, to be met with in Ireland, but it is a rude disenchantment to turn from Father Sheehan's account of the younger generation of priests, 'clean cut, small of stature, keen-faced, bicycle-riding, coffee drinking, encyclopædic,' whose 'passionate devotion to their faith is only rivalled by their passionate devotion to the Motherland,' to the young priest of to-day as he is to be seen on the platform of Irish politics. Father Sheehan has used the privilege of the novel writer, and has given us a picture drawn from his own imaginative wishes rather than from the everyday realities of life in Ireland.

The Bishop sends to Father Dan a new curate, well educated and overflowing with youthful zeal and new ideas—in fact, he is much what Father Dan had been fifty years before, only more modern and energetic.

Father Letheby, the new curate, works loyally under the old priest, and listens reverently to his affectionate warnings. But he will not admit that the faults of the people are inherent and incurable, or allow his enthusiasm to be chilled by the disappointed experiences of the older man. He gains the love and apparently the confidence of his parishioners, but his industrial enterprises end not only in failure but in disaster at the very moment that success seemed certain. The author proposes no remedy for the defects of his countrymen, but a deep note of religious faith runs all through the book, and with it the pervading influence of the teaching of the old priest—that it is not by material prosperity that spiritual life is nourished and sustained, but that the safeguard of the nation is to be found in a return to the ideals of the ancient Irish saints and sages. Father Sheehan is not afraid to criticise his brethren, but he does so with a sympathetic humour which is void of offence. He also gives us a glimpse of the subjects which are exercising the minds of

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the younger generation of priests. He presents them to us discussing problems of the Higher Criticism at their conferences and symposiums with a freedom which strikes us as remarkable in a Church so rigid in its discipline and doctrine.

We learn, too, from the book the opinions of the priests on subjects nearer everyday life. The following quotation gives Father Dan's views on marriage.

'We agreed in thinking that the Christian ideal of marriage was nowhere so happily realized as in Ireland, where, at least up to recent times, there was no lurid and volcanic company keeping before marriage, and no bitter ashes of disappointment after; but the good mother quietly said to her child: "Mary, go to confession to-morrow, and get out your Sunday dress. You are to be married on Thursday evening." And Mary said: "Very well, mother," not even asserting a faintest right to know the name of her future spouse. . . . Married life in Ireland has been the most splendid refutation of all that the world and its gospel, the novel, preach about marriage, and the most splendid and complete justification of the supernaturalism of the Church's dogmas and practices.'

This is indeed an astounding basis on which to rest happy wedlock; we could better have understood the author if he had said that *in spite* of the young people knowing nothing of one another beforehand, these marriages turn out well 'by virtue of the great sacramental union.' For it must be owned, if we look at the result, that the claim put forward by the priest cannot be denied; in no country are the duties of married life better observed, and irregular connexions are almost unknown. But we cannot agree with the suggestion that marriage is not a question of barter, for it is a matter of common knowledge that in the farmer class a girl's chances of matrimony can be accurately gauged in terms of cattle or land. Often the young people do not meet until two or three days before the wedding. In an instance known to the writer of this article, a young man came to his priest on a Saturday saying he wanted a licence to be married the following Tuesday. The priest asked for the name of the girl. The man looked puzzled and said, 'I disremember it entirely, if ever I knew it indeed, but I'll go up town and find out and

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be back in ten minutes.' In a few minutes he returned, gave the priest the name, and on Tuesday they were married.

Novels such as those that we have noticed, deserve to be read not only for their own sakes, but also for the insight they give into the character and feelings of a people of whom Froude, who cannot be said to be too favourable to Ireland, writes: 'Every cloud has its sunny side, and when all is said, Ireland is still the most beautiful island in the world, and the Irish themselves, though their temperament is ill-matched with ours, are still among the most interesting of peoples.'

ART. V.—THE DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

1. *The Times.* (London, February 6, 1902.)
2. *The Guardian.* (London, February 5, 12, 1902.) And other papers.

ON Wednesday, February 5, the Bill for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister was read a second time in the House of Commons. The majority in favour of the second reading was 125, the numbers being 249 for the Bill and 124 against it. These facts afford sufficient justification for our dealing with the subject in our present number, and pointing out the very strong reasons why every possible effort should be made by Churchmen to prevent this measure from becoming law. To put these reasons in a summary form (1) marriage with a deceased wife's sister is forbidden by the Church of England; (2) in this prohibition the Church of England reasserts the law of the Catholic Church; (3) the prohibition is based on Holy Scripture; and (4) the maintenance of the restriction which thus has Divine and ecclesiastical sanction is for the good of the community.

I. The law of the Church of England is so clear that it does not call for lengthy treatment. The 'Table of Kindred and Affinity' often appended to the Book of Common Prayer forbids a man to marry his wife's sister. This table

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was issued by Archbishop Parker in 1563, and sanctioned by the ninety-ninth canon of 1603, in which it was said:

'No person shall marry within the degrees prohibited by the laws of God and expressed in a Table set forth by authority in the year of our Lord God 1563. And all marriages so made and contracted shall be judged incestuous and unlawful, and consequently shall be dissolved as void from the beginning; and the parties so married shall by course of law be separated. And the aforesaid Table shall be in every Church publicly set up and fixed at the charge of the parish.'

There have been complications in the law of the State. Before 1835 such marriages, though illegal and accounted incestuous, were not actually void unless an application was made to a spiritual court to declare their invalidity.[1] Since 1835 the marriages have been in themselves void, without the legal process which was previously necessary to make that which was unlawful also invalid. Both before and after 1835 the law of the Church of England has been perfectly clear, that they are 'void from the beginning.'

II. The law of the Catholic Church as a whole is no less clear than that of the Church of England. The legislation of the early Church contains no provision sanctioning marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. All the known instances of references to such a contract condemn it. The nineteenth Apostolic Canon forbade the admission even to minor orders of a man who had married two sisters or his niece.[2] The Council of Elvira in A.D. 305 enacted that a man who after the death of his wife had married her sister

[1] The history of the Act of 1835 is very clearly given in Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, viii. 100, 101. Lord Campbell there says: 'The bill was right in principle. I myself supported it when it came down to the House of Commons, and I cannot regret that it was passed, although it was used afterwards to spread a false belief that till Lord Lyndhurst's Act a marriage between a man and the sister of his deceased wife was perfectly legal; whereas it always was, and I hope ever will be, deemed incestuous, and the only defect to be remedied was the imperfect procedure for declaring its illegality.'

[2] *Can. Ap.* 19: 'He who has married two sisters or a niece cannot be a cleric.'

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should be excommunicated for five years.[1] A significant illustration of the mind of the Church on the underlying principle was afforded by the Council of Ancyra in A.D. 314, which excluded for ten years even from the highest grade of penitents, and apparently still longer from Communion, a man who had seduced the sister of his betrothed, and those who had been connected with the affair.[2] The seventy-eighth of St. Basil's canons assigned the penalty of seven years' excommunication to a man who had married two sisters.[3] In a letter to Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, St. Basil says he has seen a letter, purporting to be by Diodorus, allowing a marriage with the sister of a deceased wife; and is of opinion that it must be a forgery, since such a marriage is contrary both to Holy Scripture and to the tradition of the Church; and 'our custom,' 'which has the force of law because our rules have been handed down to us by holy men,' is that

'If any man, being overcome by unclean lust, fall into an unlawful union with two sisters, this is not to be accounted marriage; and

[1] Council of Elvira, can. 61: 'If a man after his wife's death has married her sister, and she be a Christian, they must be excluded from Communion for five years, unless it be necessary because of sickness that their last Communion be given them sooner' ('nisi forte velocius dari pacem necessitas coegerit infirmitatis'). In the parallel case of the brother of a deceased husband, the Council of Neo-Caesarea (between A.D. 314 and A.D. 325), can. 2, enacted, 'If a woman has married two brothers, she shall be excommunicated till her death. If when in danger of death she promises that in the event of her recovery she will put an end to the marriage, she may as an act of mercy be admitted to penance. If the woman or the man die in this marriage, the penance for the survivor is to be very severe.'

[2] Council of Ancyra, can. 25: 'A man who was betrothed to a girl seduced her sister so that she became pregnant; he then married his betrothed, and the girl he had seduced hanged herself. It was determined that the accomplices might be admitted to the *consistentes* at the end of ten years after passing through the appointed stages.'

[3] St. Basil, *Ep.* ccxvii., can. 78: 'Let the same rule' [*i.e.*, 'to weep for one year, to be a hearer for two years, to be a kneeler for three years, to stand with the faithful in the seventh year, and so to be admitted to the sacrifice if there be penitence with tears'] 'hold good also in the case of those who marry two sisters, though it be at different times.'

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they are not to be admitted to the congregation of the Church until they have separated from one another.'[1]

The authoritative decisions of St. Timothy, who was Patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 381 to A.D. 385, which afterwards became part of the canon law of the Eastern Church, refer to marriages with an aunt or the sister of a deceased wife as unlawful.[2]

In the matter of the prohibited degrees the Churches of the East have made no relaxation of the primitive law. To the present time, by a continuous tradition, marriage with a deceased wife's sister is condemned and forbidden. And in the East there are no dispensations.[3]

The law of the Western Church till the sixteenth century, and of the Church of Rome, as well as of the Church of England, since the division which then took place, has remained the same as that of the early Church and the subsequent East. It has not, indeed, been carried out in practice without exceptions. Martin V., who was Pope from A.D. 1417 to A.D. 1431, paved the way for subsequent concessions by allowing a man, contrary to the custom of the Church, to be the husband of a woman whose sister he had formerly seduced. When the Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI., applied to Eugenius IV., who was Pope from A.D. 1431 to A.D. 1447, for permission to marry the sister of his deceased wife, the question was considered by the Papal canonists, and it was decided that the Pope could not grant a dispensation for such a marriage. Alexander VI., who was Pope from

[1] St. Basil, *Ep.* clx.

[2] St. Timothy of Alexandria (Migne, *P.G.*, xxxiii. 1303): 'Question. If a cleric be summoned to celebrate a marriage, and he be told that the marriage be unlawful, as that it be with a man's aunt or with the sister of his dead wife, ought the cleric to go to the marriage or to offer the sacrifice? Answer. Ye said it in a word, "If the cleric be told that the marriage be unlawful." If, then, the marriage is unlawful, the cleric ought not to be partaker in the sin of others.' See also Balsamon *in loco.*

[3] The Apostolic Canon 19 and Canon 78 of St. Basil's *Ep.* ccxvii. are still part of the law of the Eastern Church. See Balsamon and the *Pedalion*, *in loco.* It is not necessary to consider here the extension of prohibitions, on which see Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, pp. 699-702.

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A.D. 1492 to A.D. 1503, granted a dispensation to the King of Portugal allowing him to marry the sister of his deceased wife. Since that time dispensations have been granted, with varying degrees of frequency, by the Church of Rome for such marriages, and also for those with an aunt or a niece.[1]

In spite of these Papal dispensations the law on this subject has not been altered in the Church of Rome. The dispensations themselves are a witness to its existence and binding force. But as the grant of them is frequently used to support a wholly untrue assertion, that the law of the Church of England is local only, and not universal, it may be well to quote a statement which puts with great clearness the position of the Roman Catholic authorities. In July 1896 Cardinal Vaughan addressed the following letter to the Roman Catholic members of the House of Lords:

'My dear Lord,

'I have just received a letter, dated July 2, from his Eminence the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, on the subject of the Bill now before Parliament to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

'The Bill purports to abolish, as part of the civil law, the matrimonial impediment of the first degree of affinity in the collateral line. This is to propose a law in direct opposition to the common law of the Church. No Catholic, therefore, can vote for it.

'The Holy Father himself directs me to use every influence to induce Catholic members of both Houses of Parliament to take up the defence of the common law of the Church, and to vote against this Bill, which attempts to violate it.

'It is well known that some have voted for the Bill year by year on the ground that it would give civil recognition to a dispensation which the Holy Father occasionally grants for very grave and special reasons. The intention was laudable, but the Holy See regards it as no sufficient ground for changing the marriage law. As the guardian of the Sacrament of Marriage, the Holy See attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance of a perfect conformity between the civil and the ecclesiastical law in respect to matrimonial impediments.

[1] See Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, pp. 703–707; Addis, Arnold and Scannell, *A Catholic Dictionary*, p. 15; Lehmkuhl, *Theologia Moralis*, ii. §§ 791–822.

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'Knowing your Lordship's devotion to the Holy See and to the laws of the Catholic Church, I have thought it my duty to bring under your notice these observations concerning a grave matter of actual interest affecting the Sacrament of Marriage.

'Believe me, my dear Lord,

'Your faithful and devoted servant,

'HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN,

'Archbishop of Westminster.'

III. This law of the Catholic Church is based on Holy Scripture. The teaching of the Mosaic law on the prohibited degrees is contained in the eighteenth chapter of the Book of Leviticus. In that chapter the general principle of restraint on marriages of consanguinity and affinity is first laid down in the following terms: 'None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am the LORD.'[1] After the assertion of the general principle a number of particular instances are given to illustrate it. Some of the prohibitions are cases of consanguinity, others of affinity. The list is drawn up, like the Jewish regulations on marriage in general, from the standpoint of the man. It does not deal with the responsibilities and duties of the woman. It enacts for the man, 'Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness.'[2] It is not clear that there is any verbal prohibition of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife in this list or elsewhere in Holy Scripture. The verse, 'And thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a rival to her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime,'[3] probably refers to bigamy either, as the ordinary meaning of the Hebrew words would naturally imply, with any woman or aggravated by the second wife being the sister

[1] Lev. xviii. 6.

[2] Lev. xviii. 16. It is unnecessary to discuss here the exception to this in the Levirate law (Deut. xxv. 5–10), by which it was required that 'if brethren dwell together,' the brother of a married man who had died childless should marry his wife, and that the firstborn child of this new union should be accounted the son and heir of the former husband.

[3] Lev. xviii. 18.

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of the first.[1] It is a matter of some doubt whether the words translated in the Authorised and Revised Versions, 'Cursed be he that lieth with his mother-in-law,'[2] necessarily include a prohibition of marriage with any near relative of a man's wife.[3] But there is no room for question that the whole principle laid down in the list in Leviticus involves the prohibition. Cases of affinity are coupled with cases of consanguinity. The truth which our Lord reaffirmed, that 'they twain' are 'one flesh,'[4] is assumed as a matter of course. The relationship set up by affinity is made a basis of legislation. A man may not marry the woman who has been married to his father, or his son, or his brother.[5] When the prohibition 'The nakedness of thy sister' 'thou shalt not uncover'[6] is viewed in connexion with the assertion of the

[1] The ordinary meaning of the Hebrew words translated 'a woman to her sister' (וְאִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ) would be 'one woman to another,' without any reference to their being related. It is, however, thought by some to be unlikely that a reference to polygamy in general would be introduced here. For a careful discussion of the passage see Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, pp. 649–654.

[2] Deut. xxvii. 23.

[3] In an interesting pamphlet by the Rev. F. S. Stooke Vaughan, entitled *Marriage with a Wife's Sister directly forbidden by God's Holy Word* (second edition, 1902), it has been maintained that חֹתְנָתוֹ in Deut. xxvii. 23 does not simply mean 'his mother-in-law,' as translated in the Authorised and Revised Versions, but includes any female relative who is near of kin to the husband by affinity, so that the verse directly condemns marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. The meaning of the corresponding masculine Hebrew word is a male relative on the wife's side. The exact meaning of the feminine word used here only in the Old Testament is therefore a female relative on the wife's side. The contention that it includes other relatives besides the wife's mother is supported by the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint, which has 'Cursed be he that lieth with his daughter-in-law (*νύμφης*)'; 'Cursed be he that lieth with the sister of his wife.' But it may be doubted whether the general character of the word, which Mr. Stooke Vaughan rightly points out, justifies a definite inference that in this passage it necessarily includes a sister of a deceased wife. That it may do so should not be left out of account in connexion with the fact that marriage with a deceased wife's sister is contrary to the general principle of affinity laid down in Holy Scripture.

[4] Gen. ii. 24; St. Matt. xix. 5; St. Mark, x. 8.

[5] Lev. xviii. 8, 15, 16.

[6] Lev. xviii. 9.

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principle that marriage is barred by near affinity, the unlawfulness of marriage with a wife's sister follows. Further, for Christians, the list of prohibitions in the Book of Leviticus must be read in the light of the Christian doctrine that there is one and the same law of marriage for man and for woman. It is implied in this doctrine that the necessary corollary from the prohibition of a man marrying the wife of his brother is the prohibition of a woman marrying the husband of her sister. These are the principles which Holy Scripture affirms, on which the legislation of the Church has proceeded from the earliest days, and on which the 'Table of Kindred and Affinity' of the Church of England is drawn up. The Biblical support for this table in general, and for the prohibition which we are considering in particular, can only be taken away by denying the Scriptural doctrine of marriage which regards affinity as a real relation, and by departing from a fundamental truth of Christian morality so as to maintain one law of marriage for the man and another for the woman. Holy Scripture lays down the principle with great clearness; the 'Table of Kindred and Affinity' is the necessary logical result.

It is sometimes urged that the prohibitions in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus are exhaustive, and that instead of its being, as we have said, a list of illustrative instances, no marriage is contrary to it unless forbidden by it in express terms. Consequently it is maintained that since the list contains no prohibition of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife, such a union is lawful according to it. This argument, if looked at fairly, would carry the advocates of it further than some of them would desire; for it necessitates the assertion of the lawfulness of marriage with a grandmother, a grandfather's second wife, the wife of a maternal uncle, a wife's mother,[1] a wife's aunt, a man's own niece, and his own daughter.

It has frequently been said of late, in some cases by persons of very high station, that the argument from Holy

[1] Marriage with a wife's mother is, however, prohibited in Lev. xx. 14 and Deut. xxvii. 23; and it is possible that the prohibition in Lev. xx. 20 includes marriage with the wife of a maternal uncle.

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Scripture against the lawfulness of marriage with a deceased wife's sister has been practically abandoned. Any who may be inclined to pay attention to such statements would do well to remember that the resolution passed unanimously by the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury on January 29 last included an assertion that the change proposed by the Bill for legalizing marriage with a sister of a deceased wife 'would contravene the true application of the principle derived from Holy Scripture, and recognized by Christian practice from the first'; and to read the speeches delivered on the same day by the Bishop of Exeter and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bishop of Exeter spoke for the express purpose of pointing out that, in his opinion, the prohibited degrees do not rest on 'individual texts in the Book of Leviticus.' But he was careful to add that they do rest on 'the teaching of Holy Scripture generally'; that 'our Lord's teaching, as the expansion of the principles of Old Testament morality,' 'has been interpreted in' the 'prohibited degrees'; and that the prohibition of 'the marriage of a deceased wife's sister is precisely in parity with' 'the prohibition of the marriage of an uncle with a niece or of a nephew with the widow of his maternal uncle,' in all alike being 'inferred from the teaching of Holy Scripture.' And the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the course of his powerful speech, said:

'It seems to me clear on principle that the Scripture does distinctly forbid these marriages; but, at the same time, this is an inference from the whole of the teaching of the Scripture, and not from some particular verses in it. This is from the whole of the teaching of Scripture, which requires, in dealing with women, that they shall be put into precisely the same position as regards marriage as is occupied by men. . . . I do not see that the position of this eighteenth chapter of Leviticus has been sufficiently regarded by those who have entered into the controversy upon this matter. . . . If you are going to put women on the same level with men, as we are taught in the New Testament, they must be put under precisely the same restrictions as those under which men are put. I know perfectly well that it will be said that this is going far for your authority; to which I can only say in reply, "Point out where the argument fails." It seems to me to be absolutely convincing. I cannot escape from it. I say this because I am very anxious that it should not be

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understood that bishops are giving up in any degree whatever the Scriptural argument upon this point.'

IV. After asserting that the principle of the law of the Church on this subject is 'derived from the teaching of Holy Scripture, and recognized by Christian practice from the first,' the resolution of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury declared that the proposed change in the law of the State 'would be fraught with grave consequences to the moral and religious life of the people.' To this statement we respectfully give our most cordial assent. And we do so for the following reasons:

1. The prohibition of this particular marriage does not stand by itself. It forms part of that whole system of restriction which is embodied in the English 'Table of Kindred and Affinity.' To alter this one point is to impair the whole principle on which marriages between those related by affinity are forbidden. If marriage with a wife's sister is allowed, marriage with a brother's wife, with a son's wife, with a wife's daughter, and others, may naturally follow. Further, not only would the principle of affinity be broken down—a serious blow would also be dealt at the institution of marriage itself. 'Marriage,' it was said by a writer of great genius in 1857 'derives its essential and specific character from restraint.'[1] To undo the restraint in the matter of affinity is to imperil it elsewhere. This particular relaxation would violate the whole ideal of Christian marriage. And certainly the present is no time for playing fast and loose with the sanctity of the married life. Organized attacks on the vital principle of a fixed and indissoluble relation are perhaps less dangerous than the light views of marriage and its responsibilities which are widely prevalent. The welfare of a country depends on its home and family life. To take even one new step towards destroying the distinctiveness of marriage is to do serious injury to the best interests of the nation.

2. A conflict between the law of the Church and the law of the State is hurtful to the Church, and more hurtful to the nation. Such a conflict will not be averted by the provisions

[1] *Quarterly Review*, July 1857, p. 285.

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for the protection of the clergy contained in the present Bill, if it should become an Act. It will still in that case be the duty of the clergy to teach their people that the marriages sanctioned by it are wicked and unchristian. It will be their duty to prevent the use of their churches for any kind of ceremony, even if permitted by a bishop, in connexion with such marriages, and to exclude from Communion those who have contracted them. The strain which already exists in consequence of the law relating to divorce is serious enough; it will be greatly increased if there is another important matter, and perhaps in time to come still others, in which the State allows what the Church forbids.

3. It is sometimes alleged that the passing of the Bill would be a social reform in the interests of the poor. As a matter of fact, the opposite is the case. We are told that the sister of a dead woman is the most fitting person to manage the home and care for the children of the bereaved husband. If it is so, why should she be prevented from doing this except in that very limited number of cases in which the husband of her sister wishes to make her his wife? And this is what the practical result of the proposed legislation would be. As things now are, the wife's sister is regarded as a member of the family, one of the relatives with whom marriage is impossible. It is open for her to live in the house of her dead sister's husband. That she is by law his sister frees such a position from scandal; the widespread shrinking from incestuous relations protects her in it. It is true that in some cases sin may result, just as instances of every kind of incest are known.[1] But, for the most part, the plan works well and does not involve any loss of virtue. If the proposed change in the law takes place, the husband will act most unfairly towards his wife's sister unless he either makes her his wife or excludes her from his home. It is well known that the argument based on the supposed interests of the poor is a pretext, and that the Bill is really advocated for very different reasons. In all classes of society the effect of it, if it should become law, would be gravely injurious. Illustration of this

[1] The greatest difficulty in the whole matter of incest among the poor is due to the bad housing arrangements which are too common.

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may be seen in the speeches of the Bishops of London and Hereford in the proceedings of Convocation in January last. These two prelates speak from very different experience of life; they differ markedly in temperament and in thought. They concurred in deprecating the passing of the Bill on social grounds. The Bishop of Hereford said of the proposed change in the law:

'It is not a demand that comes from the English democracy. What is it? This is a proposal, as I understand it, to legislate, let us say, in the interests of what is alleged to be some small minority, but to the detriment, so far as I can follow the probable result, of the general life. Whereas there may be here and there persons who, under certain circumstances, honestly desire to enter into this marriage contract, they are confessedly a small minority; whereas if you alter the law you will affect a very large number of persons, and affect the relationship of their life for the worse. . . . This Bill is a Bill with what I venture to call a lowering tendency on the tone of English life. . . . Even if we grant the assumption that in a few homes this might bring some relief, we have before us what I venture to think can hardly be controverted as a probability, and as what is likely to prove the fact, that such a change of the law must introduce many jarring relationships and much danger into many homes in every class of English life and society.'

The Bishop of London's testimony was very remarkable:

'My especial experience,' he said, 'has been among the working men of England. During the nine years in which I lived in the midst of them day by day, constantly meeting them in their debates, and letting them suggest motions for debate and inviting questions, I have heard a great many subjects of every kind discussed, especially subjects relating to the Church. I have seen the House to which most of your lordships belong—the House of Lords—swept away in Radical debating societies night after night. I have seen and heard the Church disestablished and disendowed over and over again. It was among such people that I spent my days. Many of them were personal friends of my own, but they were not at all inclined to favour the Church's views on many subjects. During the whole of those nine years, during which I have invited every single question for discussion, never have I heard the Bill for the legalization of marriage with a deceased wife's sister mentioned once. Therefore I fully believe that there is no sort of popular demand for it at all,

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and that when it is rested on the basis of a great popular demand, it is rested on a delusive ground. There is, no doubt, a demand among a certain section of a higher and richer class, and they are perfectly justified in bringing forward their measure and resting it upon any grounds which they think support it; but I do protest against a measure meant largely for one class, or, at any rate, if not meant so, a measure which would only meet the need of that class, being rested on the supposed demand of another.'

4. It has been said that to reject the Bill would be to deal unfairly with the Colonies which have passed similar measures. Here again the reverse is the case. The highest duty which England owes to the Colonies is to help them to maintain a right standard of sound morality and Christian truth and practice. That duty will not be fulfilled by following their example when they have done wrong. To maintain in England that which is right may not lead the Colonies to reverse their action. It will, at least, hold out a warning that those residents in the Colonies who desire to promote the true interests of the communities in which they live, and to keep unstained their own personal and family life, will refrain from availing themselves of the permission which their own legislative bodies have given them in this matter.

On the grounds of authority and of reason, of Scriptural teaching and Christian principle and Catholic tradition, the most strenuous opposition to this Bill is called for from Churchmen. If, unhappily, it should become law, the enactment of it will make no change in the law of the Church; and it will be a painful necessity for the clergy and laity who are loyal to the principles to which, as Churchpeople, they are committed, to discountenance in every possible way the unions which the unchristian legislation of the State has made civilly valid.

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ART. VI.—SOME TENDENCIES OF MODERN NONCONFORMITY.

1. *The British Weekly.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)
2. *The Free Church Year Book.* (London, Memorial Hall, 1902.)
3. *Report of the Keswick Convention.* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1901.)
4. *The Trinity.* By ROBERT HORTON, D.D. 'Present Day Preachers.' (London: Horace Marshall and Sons, 1901.)
5. *Devotional Services for Public Worship.* By JOHN HUNTER, D.D. (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1901.)
6. *Appreciation of Cardinal Newman.* By Dr. ALEXANDER WHYTE. ((Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1901.)
7. *A Confession of Heresy.* By T. J. HARDY. (London, Essex Hall, 1901.)
8. *Present Day Papers.* (London: Headley Brothers.)

And other works.

THAT there are great and perhaps far-reaching changes going on in the religious life and thought of England must be obvious to all who have considered the general outlook. That Nonconformity in particular is being influenced by a flood of new ideas is equally apparent. It is always very difficult for a contemporary to estimate the meaning or the drift of the movements in which he is engaged, but the following pages, which are the result of many months of ceaseless investigation, are a contribution towards such an object. They have been neither written nor published with any unfriendly purpose, but no attempt has been made to soften or tone down the criticisms which have suggested themselves.

It used to be said that directly a Dissenter made money, his first act was to join the Church of England; and Mr. Augustine Birrell, in his latest book, questions whether the convictions of the Nonconformist undergraduate often survive a sojourn of three years at one of the older Universities. Others, however, declare that the sects have never appeared to be more militant than in these days of hurried denominational expansion; though a little thought will probably

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convince us that the adoption by Dissenters of the style and title of the Catholic Church amounts to a real, if quite unconscious, surrender. Thirty years ago the word 'chapel' was hailed as a battle-cry, whereas now it is repudiated as an insulting description of those religious bodies which are no longer enumerated by hundreds in *Whitaker's Almanack*. In a sentence, powerful influences have intervened to elevate the corporate as opposed to the individualist aspect of dissent. Mr. Spurgeon and Mr. Moody cared only for ecclesiastical institutions in so far as these furnished an adequate sounding-board for the purely verbal message of salvation. Such preachers attracted enormous congregations, but the very name 'Metropolitan *Tabernacle*' indicated that they were still enamoured of the conventicle. They resembled such of the Early Christians as might have been reluctant to emerge from the catacomb into the basilica; or of the Covenanters who might have still preferred the hillside, long after persecution had ceased. It was a positive article of faith that no distinction must be made between a public hall, a theatre on Sunday, and a chapel. All alike might be used for services the most solemn, for political meetings the most violent, or for entertainments the most vapid. If bazaars, *tableaux vivants*, and theatricals were condemned, it was for their inherent frivolity, not because it would have been specially wrong to hold them in a consecrated building.

The whole conception of piety was that which John Bunyan embodied in his *Pilgrim's Progress*. There we find that the only minister of religion is the Evangelist, whose only *act*, apart from preaching, is to pull Christian out of the Slough of Despond, or, if we translate the metaphor, to settle his mental doubts by an appeal to Scripture. The Saints tread their way to glory, ever detached from Vanity Fair and the Town of Morality; in all their deepest experiences they are isolated, or, at most, collected into small and shuddering groups. Philanthropy itself was subordinated to the absorbing necessity of getting one's soul saved, and, afterwards, of helping other sinners to a like conversion. Temperance reform became one long signing of the pledge, a kind of repentance from intoxicants. Great orphanages,

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like those of Dr. Barnardo, Mr. George Muller, or the Spurgeons, were supported not merely because the children would have otherwise starved, but also because their eternal welfare was endangered by neglect of spiritual matters. A study of Dr. Barnardo's first supper with a homeless boy will illustrate this.

To some extent and in some spheres not confined to any one denomination, but sprinkled over all alike, this is as true to-day as ever. But in the main there has taken place a silent revolution. The throwing open of the Universities and the rise of the modern public school came at a moment when Dissenters had more money than formerly wherewith to educate their children. Oxford, Cambridge, and Rugby struck the imagination as never before, and compelled admiration for the dignifying atmosphere of well-established, quasi-monastic traditions. There followed a broader and more continuous study of history. Many Nonconformists had previously divided the Christian Era into the Apostolic period, closing with St. Paul's hired house; the Dark Ages, which immediately supervened; and the Protestant period, heralded by a glorious Reformation, though menaced to this day by an insidious and Jesuistic priestcraft. Such a view faded after the perusal of even such histories as that of John Richard Green; but its deathblow was delivered by Newman, whose *Apologia* profoundly interested Nonconformity, not so much because of the book's literary merits, as because it was, in effect, a direct appeal, on a question of faith, to the judgment of the democracy. Newman went out into the street and there cried, like Luther before the Diet of Worms: 'Here I stand. I can do no other. God help me.' He was, as it were, a dissenter to Romanism, and his challenge, being in form to common sense, could not be ignored. Nonconformists were forced to define what they meant by Church authority, and this involved a tacit admission that, after all, there was such a thing.

The influence of Mr. Gladstone was complementary to that of Newman. Of all statesmen, he best lived out the dictates of the Nonconformist conscience. He contradicted in his own person every criticism of the Oxford Movement.

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His home life was not blasted by the failure to denounce occasional confession. His belief in the Real Presence did not prevent him writing *The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*; nor did his reverence for the three Orders close his mouth on those wet Sunday mornings when he gathered his household for a service, conducted by himself. Through his abilities alone could Nonconformists expect to attain their political ends; and at one juncture we find Mr. Gladstone relying upon Dissenters in a struggle for the protection of Bulgarian Christians, whose liturgy and beliefs would under other circumstances have been denounced by Protestants as irremediably superstitious. A similar phenomenon marked the Armenian crisis; and although a cynic might hint that Mr. Gladstone had his reward for disestablishing the Irish Church and trying to disestablish the Church in Wales, yet it would be more true to say that he played upon the real capacity for generous indignation which invariably, if somewhat inconveniently, is displayed by Nonconformists at what they consider to be persecution. Be that as it may, Mr. Gladstone finally divorced the 'Free Churches' from the Protestant extremists in the Church of England—a fact which has been recently illustrated in the cordial welcome extended to the new Bishop of Worcester by the whole Dissenting press.

The writings of Carlyle and Ruskin—especially of the latter—were read nowhere with more enthusiasm than in Nonconformist homes. The *Sartor Resartus* destroyed the contention that externals—to wit, clothes—do not matter, and it demonstrated the truth that the Quaker bonnet is as much a 'vestment' as the simplicity of Quaker meeting-houses signifies obedience to an 'ornaments rubric': that, in fact, silence is a kind of negative liturgy, and the absence of form the most rigid of formalism. Ruskin illuminated the new revelation by an irresistible, because so original and eloquent an appeal to paintings and buildings, new and old, whereat the Dissenter gazed, like not a few Churchmen, with opened eyes. Raphael was forgiven for painting Madonnas, and cathedrals began to excite profounder sensations than the curiosity of the day tripper. The cost of travel had rapidly

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diminished, and staunch Puritans, like Dr. Horton or Dr. Clifford, returned from the Continent to preach sermons upon St. Mark's at Venice, or Giotto's Campanile. A light dawned upon the Middle Ages, and the glory of a united Christendom for the first time revealed the tragedy of our unhappy divisions.

The flowing of population into the great towns enabled Dissenters to interpret their æsthetic ideals in a series of edifices which, if at times pretentious, yet displayed, to an increasing extent, the influence of the Gothic revival. The chapel became a place for worship, instead of a theatre for listening. Money has been lavished upon towers, spires, gargoyles, tracery, carved capitals, and even on an incipient reredos. The pulpit replaces the rostrum; the organ has been tucked away to the side of the chancel; the choir sit cathedral-wise; and the general arrangements begin to approximate, in many instances, to those of a large parish church. The older edifices remain as they were, save when some revolutionist, like Dr. John Hunter, insists upon 'redecoration.' But in the new buildings the tendency cannot be mistaken. The plastered wall, the unmanageable oil-lamps, the varnished reading-desk, and the big black stove have vanished for ever.

In the services themselves, the souls of Presbyterians who worship in England are no longer vexed by the sacrifice of reverence to zeal. The hymns of Mr. Sankey are severely suppressed; the prayer, if supposed to be *ex tempore*, is often recited from a furtively concealed manuscript. In unexpected quarters the use of a liturgy is advocated, and the publication of monthly programmes negatives the old belief that devotion should be as the Spirit moves. More or less ambitious anthems are sung, morning and evening—the congregation as a rule attempting to take part—while the *Te Deum* and other ancient Catholic hymns are chanted in harmony. As the architecture has often proved meretricious, owing to the fact that it is wholly imported, so the liturgical aids, being exotic, are too often mere instruments of pleasantry. Flowers are placed on the pulpit, not because the pulpit is especially sacred, but because flowers are pretty. Sir John

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Stainer is preferred to Plain Song, and devotion rises to its zenith in a sevenfold Amen. The Wesleyan Methodist Church nourishes clean-shaven 'clergy'—much to the scandal of the stalwarts—while it builds huge mission halls as permanent places of worship for the poor who are allured thereto by big brass bands. It is no wonder that the set prayers of even the most eloquent Nonconformists lack the indefinable sonorousness of an Anglican collect. They only steer their course safely between the commonplace and the rhetorical, when heard by those whose ears have, from childhood, become accustomed to the most faultless cadences. Here is a passage from Dr. John Hunter's Fourth Evening Litany:

'Almighty and Everlasting God, in communion with Thy saints in all ages, with patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs, with our beloved dead who have fallen asleep in Thy peace: we, who are still striving to do and bear Thy blessed will on earth, adore Thee, and offer to Thee our praises and supplications.'

But a far more typical Nonconformist prayer would be the following, chosen at random from those offered by the Rev. R. J. Campbell of Brighton:

'Our Father, forgive us our unworthiness. Forgive us everything that we have done which has helped to place a barrier between us and our Master whom we adore. Forgive us if we have crucified our Lord afresh, and put Him to an open shame; forgive us if we have been less than loyal unto Him who has done so much for us. Forgive us the blow that we have struck at the Christ through the needs of our fellows, the hardships that we have inflicted, the unkindnesses of which we have been guilty. Forgive us, O Lord, if we have brought a wrong spirit to the service of the Master in anything; forgive us our self-sufficiency, our indifferentism, forgive us those hours in which we have forgotten Thee. Forgive us all our self-ward tendencies. Forgive, O Lord, that which has been omitted which should have been done to make this world purer and better by the children whom Thou hast endowed for the work. O forgive those of us who are conscious that we have much to forgive, and forgive those of us who think very little of what there is to forgive.—Amen.'

The epigrammatic conclusion is thoroughly characteristic.

Let us now turn to the inner side of the problem. Twenty years ago, Protestants and Catholics were sharply

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divided on a miraculous issue. The Protestant believed in the reality of and the universal necessity for conversion—a supernatural and wholly transcendental transformation of being whereby the individual became a new creature. The Catholic received the child, although unconscious, into the spiritual family, and undertook to nourish it through the Presence of Christ Himself in the Sacraments. These were the rival claims, crudely but popularly stated, between which the public had to decide. Both altars were ready for the fire, and the answer by fire could not but be final. Mr. D. L. Moody's visit to these shores was accompanied by incidents which recalled the revivals under John Wesley and Charles Simeon. The American evangelist was neither cultured nor, in the ordinary sense of the word, eloquent, but in all his triumphs he exhibited the supreme virtue of a modesty that led him to flee from his flatterers as he would from the devil. Conversion was never a more definite fact than in the eighties, but, even so, it only represented an instantaneous revolution in a man's life, nor could it have been expected to cut off either the saved or the unsaved from material and intellectual influences. These asserted themselves even in the case of men who, like Henry Drummond, confessed that they owed everything to Moody. The writings of Darwin and of Huxley drew attention to the forces of heredity and environment, so identifying the individual with the whole race, both past, present, and future. Drummond thereupon interpreted spiritual experiences by the analogy of natural law and unwittingly founded a kind of ritualism of good habits. Men who recoiled from Drummond's latitudinarianism began to broaden their definition of conversion until it embraced much more than a sudden appreciation of our Lord's vicarious Atonement. Another miracle, called 'full sanctification'—not new, since the Wesleys taught it—drew multitudes to holiness meetings, and especially to Keswick and other similar Conventions.

The preaching of sanctification enabled the evangelicals, both inside and outside the Church, to reclaim 'backsliders,' without denying the axiom 'once converted, always converted.'

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To sinners, they offered conversion; to Christians, sanctification; and, in the Salvation Army Reports, a mission is said to result in 'so many for salvation and so many for sanctification.' Certain extremists, like Mr. Reader Harris, K.C., the founder of the Pentecostal League, began to be accused of teaching 'Christian perfection'; while others, especially in America, fell an easy prey to Dr. Dowie's theory of faith-healing. The recent secession of Mr. and Mrs. Booth-Clibborn from the Salvation Army illustrates the latter possibility.

Meanwhile Dean Farrar no sooner acquired influence among Nonconformists by a popular *Life of Christ* and by advocacy of temperance, than he devoted it remorselessly to an attack upon the evangelical conception of heaven and hell. The appeal to eternity and with it the time-honoured interpretation of literal Scripture were challenged, not obscurely by some German heretic, but openly, in the very Temple itself. No great prophet arose to take the place of the giants who were passing away, and the 'down-grade' party placed Dr. Clifford—despite his visit to a notorious ethical society—in the chair of the Baptist Union. Mr. Spurgeon thereupon withdrew in bitter and somewhat ill-tempered disgust, but his protest led nowhere, unless, indeed, to ridicule. The whole atmosphere of revivalism began to be dreaded, for medical science proved the harsh truth that religious excitement could easily become a mental disease, and hysterical patients were coolly advised not to risk their sanity in the inquiry room. Experience taught that, especially among the young, the fiery emotionalism of the after-meeting aroused the baser passions and laid the convert open to the severest and least-suspected temptations.

It was further discovered that almost all conversions took place among the comparatively immature. This fact was repeatedly used as an argument in favour of 'deciding at once.' But it placed the evangelical party out of touch with most persons of middle age. Children in respectable and even religious families would be taught, perhaps on the sea-shore, to regard themselves, and, *a fortiori*, their parents, as outside the pale of Christ's spiritual Church. Under such

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circumstances, the salvation of the young did not minister to harmony in the nursery. The teaching of Edward Thring, of Froebel, and of Charles Kingsley in the *Water Babies*, suggested that these difficulties were not entirely satanic, but were capable of reasonable explanation.

The present writer is well acquainted with most phases of revivalism, and he would not suggest that the method has died out. It is still universal in the Salvation Army and among the aggressive Wesleyan Missions. It has, however, been wounded in the house of its friends by Dr. Watson of Liverpool, whose kailyard stories have a very definite theological import. The simultaneous mission last year was an attempt to resuscitate Moodyism without Mr. Moody, and it failed. The Sunday School Union has inaugurated similar missions this year, and has even secured the active co-operation of two Anglican Bishops, though the result has yet to be recorded. But the gospel preached to-day is not the gospel of blood and fire which used to be preached yesterday. At its best, it approximates to that kind of appeal which we have learnt to expect from, say, the Bishop of London or the Bishop of Stepney. At its worst, it degenerates into an exhibition of mingled menaces and witticisms, and, unfortunately, its worst is not yet extinct.

During the whole period which is under review, Nonconformists studied the controversy in the Church of England between the two dominant ecclesiastical parties. They could not but note that *Lux Mundi* not only emanated from High Church sources, but also received the unrelenting censure of the stricter evangelicals. It seemed to outsiders as if the Oxford Movement had prepared the Church for its grapple with Science. Certainly, science prepared the Nonconformist for a more sympathetic inquiry into the reality of sacramental grace. Research brought to light the fact that innumerable forces play around the commonest substances, and that all nature is wilfully symbolic. Gradually, a 'High Church' school of Nonconformists grew up—men who refused to acknowledge the exclusive episcopal claim, but who were not by any means so certain that the Holy Communion, properly administered, is merely commemorative. The wish may have

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been father to the thought, since the cry, 'Back to Christ,' had certainly awakened in the hearts of many ministers a passionate determination to secure our Lord's Real Presence within the arena of devotion. Dr. Clifford's appreciation of Liddon, or Dr. Alexander Whyte's recent estimate of Newman, displays a sympathy that is the reverse of what we find in the works of Mr. Walter Walsh.

The influence of Ruskin extended beyond the æsthetic sphere into the harsher world of social economics. The convenient commercialism of the past began to be overshadowed by the appalling problems which accompany the concentration of population in large cities. The writings of Count Leo Tolstoy revealed the utter selfishness of much respectability, and even such little books as Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England* disseminated a new discontent. A brief spasm of expectation attended the perusal of Mr. Sheldon's *What would Jesus do?* but there was disappointment at the discovery that a family of millionaires seem indispensable to the solution of the social difficulty. From the United States, however, we adopted the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, the solid value of which was limited by the encouragement of speaking on the part of those who could have very little to say. Clubs and societies grew up around the larger chapels, which became, in a new and healthy sense, the home of their younger members. The influence of the late Professor Shuttleworth among clerks and shopgirls resembles closely what we find in many Nonconformist places of worship. The system accounts for enormous membership rolls; it safeguards morals and ministers to pleasure. It need not be accompanied, however, with any very definite religious belief or practice.

By such developments Nonconformity in England has become a religion of the middle classes. It includes wealth but not aristocracy, and for the most part it excludes the poor. It has proved utterly incapable of abolishing caste distinctions, and it has given up the attempt. The Quakers, for instance, are organizing for workpeople what is tantamount to 'a church'—namely, adult schools—but what is, nevertheless, entirely different from a meeting for worship. In other words,

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there is a Quakerism for the poor and a Quakerism for the rich, the one diametrically opposite to the other. Much the same applies to Wesleyan Methodism. As for the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, they are at last waking up to the fact that their influence among operatives in large English towns is virtually nil. In London their chapels have been extinguished by the dozen, partly because leases fell in, but also because the poor had long since ceased to attend. In a single week last year the Bishop of Rochester consecrated two such deserted places of worship for use by the Anglican Church. In estimating the failure to deal with the Submerged Tenth we should recollect that no sincere and active member of a Christian denomination ought to be submerged. The fact that he practises religion should imply virility of character, and the fact that he belongs to a 'church' should ensure him against mere calamity. Even in the Salvation Army the working man who 'turns religious' rises in the social scale, since the shillings he used to spend on intoxicants now add to his domestic comfort. Yet these considerations hardly apply to the 'Free Churches' as such. Railway men, for instance, are not Methodists or Baptists or Presbyterians. They prefer the Railway Mission. In London, too, we have, similarly, the London City Mission. These are organizations which receive the support of Churchmen as well as Dissenters, and their activity hardly bridges the chasm between Nonconformity and the working man—this despite the Rev. E. A. Stuart's recent public declaration that, as vicar of a Bayswater parish, he would prefer to sacrifice one of his curates rather than the London City missioner, to whom he acts as superintendent.

It is, indeed, a question whether 'the fatal opulence of Bishops' has ever been more ostentatiously displayed than is the opulence of Dissent. The fabulous wealth of the Rockefellers is at the disposal of the American Baptists, and, on our more modest English scale, we could produce a considerable number of Nonconformist millionaires. Many single chapels furnish a revenue more than equal to the income of a Bishop, and far in excess of what a Suffragan receives. It would indeed be possible for several pairs of chapels to raise the

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Archbishop of Canterbury's stipend, and Nonconformists have recently been exhorting the Church to pay her clergy better, so completely have the tables been turned. Some 64,000*l.* was raised by the Wesleyan Methodists recently on a single Sunday, and that denomination's Million Guinea Fund has hardly been completed before an additional 100,000*l.* is requested for the purpose of Methodising the Army and Navy.

It is difficult to say how far the 'Free Churches' are to be congratulated upon these achievements. Financial effort has of late left little time or energy for thought, prayer, and study. 'Deadly doing'—to quote Canon Barnett—has been the order of the day, and no great ideal has emerged. In the struggle between capital and labour the truth has become more and more plain that Dissenters are usually capitalists. In Wales, it may be true that trade-union meetings are held in chapels and are opened with a hymn. Cases could be quoted, however, where the deacons of an English 'Free Church' refused to rent a schoolroom to a labour committee, and where preachers have expressed thankfulness because their chapels were free from the slothful and besotted British working man. It is not hereby claimed that the Anglican Church has been either more or less successful than the denominations in its endeavours to win the masses. Certain it is, however, that the Christian Social Union, buttressed by the concrete example of Father Dolling or the Bishop of London, has many lessons to teach prominent Nonconformists. So far as we are aware, there is no similar organization among the 'Free Churches,' and if we examine the *National Council's Year Book* we shall discover almost everything but this. Nonconformists have taken it for granted that they are awake and that Churchmen are asleep where vested interests are concerned. In reality, the 'Free Churches' are as much dependent upon vested interests as they would be if they were established and endowed, and Dr. Paton of Nottingham experiences the utmost difficulty in arousing interest in his Christian Social Brotherhood.

But it would be a gross error to depreciate the admirable efforts to secure the suppression of inducements to vice and

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intemperance in which Dissenters have frequently taken the lead, and in which they have nearly always joined hands cordially with Churchmen. The 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoon' movement, despite its somewhat frivolous motto, 'Brief, Bright, and Brotherly,' has spread the gospel of thrift, cleanliness, and the duty of neighbour to neighbour. It was a 'Free Churchman,' Mr. George Cadbury, who most conspicuously realized the conception of a garden city, though the applause chiefly emanated from Anglicans. Possibly the relative increase of the Church's influence among the poor is due to the simple fact that a situation has arisen where the importance of preaching is less evident than that of parochial visiting. The Nonconformist minister is a true pastor to his congregation: to those, that is, who listen to him. The Anglican priest is responsible for a district—a geographical area—whether the inhabitants come to church or not. Perhaps the most far-reaching measures undertaken by the 'National Council of Evangelical Free Churches' have been to map out Dissenting 'parishes' and to discourage the overlapping of rival Dissenting chapels. During the simultaneous mission there was systematic house-to-house visitation, though not perceptibly among the poor. Many signs indicate that the parish will occupy something of that attention which has hitherto been devoted exclusively to the pulpit. The attempt to establish girls' guilds, in imitation of the Girls' Friendly Society, the opening of 'Free Church' day schools at Bournemouth, and the unprecedented carefulness to visit workhouses and infirmaries are cases in point.

If there be any truth in this forecast, we cannot but expect a period of closer rivalry between the Church and Dissent. The Anglican endowment is no longer a preponderating asset, for it is not always spent to the best advantage, and it is apt to discourage generosity. The unity of the Catholic Church has, of course, a spiritual significance to which 'Free Church Federation' lays no claim. The latter alliance is merely a working union, without authority, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, and therefore, for that very reason, precisely suited to the requirements of Dissent. Politically the Federation has little weight, for the Nonconformist vote is much

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smaller than is usually imagined, and, as explained previously, the working man has long since ceased to form the backbone of the 'Free Churches.' Dissenters are still on the whole Liberal, but, apart from Welshmen, they care nothing for Disestablishment, and on Imperial questions they are, in many cases, willing admirers of Mr. Chamberlain. Their three or four leading periodicals are scrupulously edited so as to command a colossal circulation, and short shrift is given to the dry bones of the Education question. It is allowed about the same prominence as, say, the telephone betrayal. If, however, Nonconformists are imitating rather than attacking the Church, their attitude is on that account tenfold more dangerous. The old rancour did not mean strength, and it fades away, unregretted, with the school of Dr. Guinness Rogers. In its stead we find that sympathy which assimilates all that is most obviously true in the faith of a rival. Leading Nonconformists scrutinize the Church, analyse the forces she exerts, and apply the object-lesson. They are men of great ability, both by birth and by education at the Universities; and, despite the incessant advertisement to which, as preachers, they are often unwillingly subjected, they speak as a rule with dignity, with eloquence, and with a remarkable grasp of fact. Untrammelled as to the present, they are yet in possession of the past; and their very lack of traditional theology often enables them the more closely to appreciate the man in the street. They are not all scholars, but most of them read widely and impartially in those books which an average congregation would find most suggestive. They often preach for forty minutes, but are forgiven. They are devoted to poetry, they dabble in philosophy, and their enthusiasm is still that of a child who asks all kinds of fascinating questions about the new world in which he finds himself. A man like Mr. Silvester Horne is regarded by his congregation with feelings of almost unmeasured adoration, due to the fact that he and they are really opening the book of life for the first time together and comparing impressions. Pastor and people are alike laymen.

The atmosphere is doubtless latitudinarian, save possibly among the Methodist churches. Out of deference to the

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enraged Highlands, Dr. Marcus Dods declined the Moderatorship of the United Free Church of Scotland, though in England Dr. Watson of Liverpool bluffed the heresy-hunters. The posthumous publication of Professor Bruce's article on Jesus in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* proved how adequately the up-to-date Presbyterian enunciates the Unitarianism of twenty years ago. The acceptance of the Westminster Confession long ago became nominal, and Dr. Stopford Brooke openly asserts that he has captured the Churches. These circumstances have driven Unitarianism into the extremes of rationalism or 'liberal thought.' The Christology of the late Mr. Thom is apologised for by his successors, and there is now a passion to disprove where before there was a yearning to believe. Amid the chaos we detect Congregationalists and Baptists amicably discussing a compromise between pædo- and adult baptism—as if the point did not very much matter—while the Congregationalists cheerfully mock at the independency for which their ancestors were persecuted. The recent publication of a Free Church Catechism implies anything but a united determination to defend the propositions therein enunciated. In the pulpit the praise of apostles, prophets, and martyrs is oft-times eclipsed by the praise of heretics. There is no formal subscription to the Catechism, the chief value of which has been to suggest that one instructor could be trusted to undertake the religious education of all Nonconformists in an elementary school. The virgin birth, the miracles, and even the Resurrection are treated as quite open to discussion *de novo*; prophecy is left to the Plymouth Brethren; and the conditions beyond the grave neither alarm nor inspire. For the moment, all other considerations are swallowed up in the overwhelming discovery that the Free Churches are at last beginning to get on. Success is apt to be regarded as the sole virtue, and failure as the sole crime, whether in minister, evangelist, or deacon; and Dr. Robertson Nicoll, as always, wrote the exact mind of Nonconformity when he called upon good patriots to 'fire out the fools.' Any man, whether he be Gipsy Smith, Jack Cooke, the boy preacher, the Rev. John MacNeill, or Mr. Frank T. Bullen, is judged

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solely by the hearing he gets. Every effort must have an immediate result. Life is a triumph, not a tragedy.

Where efficiency is the watchword, and success the touchstone, the most diverse alliances may be approved. Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, after inveighing against frivolity all his life, organizes the most fashionable bazaar of the season, defends a private little 'quadrille,' and summons to his aid the philanthropic actress. The lapse indicates, no doubt, a revolt against the Puritanism which forbade pianos and pictures. But, on the other hand, we have here one further elimination of the exacting and heroic in Dissent. There is nothing ascetic, no Lenten fare, in modern Nonconformity. It is pleasanter than Christianity has ever been before. The activity of the Free Churches justly excites wonder, but it is too apt to take the form, even in sacred things, of play rather than work. The chapel is a hobby, like a flower garden. There is no point where it passes irrevocably into the hands of God, never, under any stress of circumstances, to be withdrawn. When Dissenters were few and despised, when they read their Bibles and in humiliation sought pardon for their sins, when they counted on trembling fingers the souls they had rescued from everlasting damnation, there was among them a discipline more general and more oppressive than any that has compromised the popularity of the Catholic Church. *Mais nous avons changé tout cela.* Recently a Wesleyan Methodist minister resigned because he found it difficult to preach in Wesley's church Wesley's gospel of holiness.

The spectacle of vast religious organizations throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon world consolidating their machinery, utterly uncommitted to their past declarations, and cheerfully ready to adapt themselves to whatever the future may stipulate, is one which Anglicans cannot contemplate with unmixed feelings. While there is much worship which involves no reverence, much service which embodies no element of sacrifice, and much fellowship which is merely unexceptionable social intercourse, we must remember the tens of thousands of devoted men and women whose lives are inspired by an enthusiastic gratitude to the Redeemer. With such a nucleus

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of spirituality, we never know when a new flame of idealism may shoot from the embers. There are already signs that Dissenters are beginning to be conscious that more than half our population is hopelessly irreligious. The excessive self-satisfaction of the moment is a phase which will end with the discovery of how infinitely little can be achieved without agony and tears. But the lull has disclosed an entirely novel desire to come to terms with the Established Church. It matters not how plainly the priest vaunts his 'sacerdotalism' or emphasizes his 'superstitious practices,' where Mr. Spurgeon would have called him a limb of Satan, to that Free Church world the culprit now receives a pressing and even pathetic invitation. Utterly cowed are those who held that sacramental grace is a fraud whereby the simple are robbed of a full and free gospel. And many a Free Churchman hopes that Bishop Gore may exchange pulpits with Dr. Parker, and that Dissenters may be privileged to communicate in incense-laden Catholic sanctuaries. Militancy sinks to adulation, and adulation interprets itself in addresses of welcome at the very juncture when, according to some, the Catholic Revival has arrived at its most complete manifestation. Dr. Horton's tirades against Romanism and the Confessional palled a little ere the series came to a conclusion, and the antipathy aroused may have been racial. The Protestantism of the Boer is as repulsive to Free Churchmen as the Catholicism of the Spaniard; and the Presbyterian alliance between these islands and the Continent is, at the moment, strained to breaking-point by mutual recriminations. The revived devotion to Empire and Crown has extended to the National Church, and the proposal by Lord Halifax to reunite Christendom is disliked ostensibly for religious reasons, but really because the notion seems to some of his critics to smack of the foreign Jesuit.

The occasion is, therefore, *prima facie* favourable to such a propaganda as recently reached the public ear from Westminster Abbey. The omnipotence of the Press, the random judgments which are passed day by day upon the profoundest mysteries, and the universal diffusion of an ill-comprehended vocabulary, render it ever more difficult for the Church to

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justify what is called her exclusive claim. Nowadays few people take the trouble to understand either Protestantism or Catholicism, and a Round Table Conference, with reporters and cinematographs, would resemble a chess tournament where the umpires had forgotten the rules. A particular instance may be cited. A minister challenged the vicar of his parish to justify the statement that the Anglican priest is God's representative in a sense in which a Free Church minister is not. The local papers published the correspondence, and subsequently reproduced verbatim the minister's philippics against the intolerance of the Anglican Church. The vicar made no reply, and the case seemed to go by default. It is not, however, thereby to be inferred that he was beaten. He simply refused to plead before a common jury. His real answer doubtless takes the form of a deeper devotion to all the interests of his parish.

The present writer is convinced that our unhappy divisions are not to be healed merely by a new interpretation of the episcopal claim. Religion is not a business in which it is possible to establish combines at will, so that competition may cease to swallow up legitimate profits. If within a given area there be both a church and a chapel, the encouragement to intercommunion obviously implies the surrender on the part of the episcopate body of a position which, whether it be tenable or not in the future, has most assuredly been strongly entrenched hitherto. A mechanical partnership is unthinkable—the true simile would be the wedding of two personalities. It may be correct to urge that the differences within the Church are greater than the distinctions between Church and Dissent. It proves nothing. People do not fall in love because their opinions agree; and although Nonconformists are enamoured of 'the Establishment,' and would half like to be 'established' themselves, the feelings may not be reciprocated. A nodding acquaintance is better than silent suspicion, and a grasp of the hand is better still. There is no reason to deplore those amenities which are now becoming the fashion. But the time has not yet arrived for publishing the banns; if the courtship is more than platonic it is yet only just initiated.

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When we examine the root necessities of the situation we find that, at the present stage, the real policy ought to be to foster a social and political *entente.* For we may freely concede that in the uphill fight for what remains of religion a solid front will alone be proof against opposing forces. The man of the world cares nothing, one way or the other, about the admission of Dr. Clifford's Sunday school teachers to the Communion rail at Westminster Abbey. It is at least plausible to urge that Nonconformists ought to be capable of maintaining adequate means of grace for their own people. But the inspiration of the public conscience is a duty in which all religious communions are equally interested, since rampant immorality and unblushing vice injure regular and irregular Churches with sarcastic impartiality. Municipal bodies are beginning formally to attend Nonconformist places of worship, and the Primate replies to toasts in which other denominations are included. Such compliments would hardly have been understood by the Dissenter of thirty years ago. The 'political Nonconformist' was an individual canvasser for any candidate who would undertake to redress his religious grievances. The career of Mr. John Bright reminds us that the Dissenter was not always an advocate of factory legislation, and his enthusiasm for education amounted to opposition to Voluntary schools. How great has been the change may be judged from the desperate endeavours to resuscitate the Liberation Society, the definite declaration by the 'National Council of Evangelical Free Churches' to the effect that its aim is not to disestablish the Church, and, lastly, the equanimity with which Lord Rosebery's famous dictum upon State Churches has been forgiven and forgotten. Nonconformist preachers are beginning to insist that the Churches, in their corporate capacity, are bound to struggle for public morals, and, in so far as Anglicans invite such co-operation, they have it at once. In not a few cases it is only fair to say that the initiative has been taken by Dissenters.

The effect of such co-operation has often astonished even those who were chiefly responsible. At Southampton a municipal revolution was effected. In Chatham a tremendous

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onslaught upon unmentionable evils is still proceeding, with the complete approval of Bishops and leading Nonconformists. If we may say so, it is time. The proper housing of the poor touches the clergy who visit among the poor more closely than it touches the Dissenting minister, whose sphere is different. But a recent volume on the subject, entitled *The Heart of the Empire* received attention from Nonconformist as well as Anglican preachers; and Churchmen may be assured that their efforts on behalf of London are being, even now, seconded by countless thoughtful 'Free Churchmen.' There is no need to raise the ecclesiastical problem. In view of a diminishing, stationary, or oscillating attendance at Sunday school—the statistics are variously interpreted, but certainly do not indicate an absolute increase, much less an increase proportionate to that of our population; in face of such a decline in attendance at public worship as appears from Sir John Leng's census for Aberdeen and Dundee last year; in view of the admission by the Congregationalists that they are no longer able to supply their share—five per cent.—of seating accommodation in several of our largest centres of population, including London, Nonconformists would indeed be infatuated if for an instant they allowed themselves to be swayed by the recollection of ancient feuds. Their 'National Council,' by combining all the Dissenting ministers within a given district, has apparently created a local force which is able, for example, to ensure the substitution of the word 'general' for the word 'unconsecrated' in the description of cemeteries. Petty little grievances of this description will lead to equally petty and irritating negotiations, in which considerable forbearance may have to be exercised. But the Rev. Thomas Law, who has organized the Federation with all the characteristic energy of a Methodist, continually appeals to the Church of England, in terms that bear all the marks of sincerity, for assistance against common foes. He does not ask for intercommunion; at any rate, not in such terms as those in which he couches his appeal for municipal co-operation.

Here we must leave the subject. With all its imperfections, Nonconformity presents itself in new and ampler

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garments. It is utterly different from traditional Scottish Presbyterianism, from Continental Lutheranism, and from the English Dissent of a hundred years ago. It readily adapts itself to colonial expansion, and it precisely suits the temper of the American peoples. To suppress such an upgrowth is manifestly impossible, and, like every other fact of life, it is the duty of the Church to study it. There is, indeed, an awful mystery surrounding the future of the Christian religion. In England, where perhaps more than in any other country that future is being determined, we must be solemnized, if encouraged, at the spectacle of countless hosts of earnest fellow-citizens deliberately hushing their threadbare criticisms of the Apostolic Church, and examining her glorious and unique traditions, with a sincere impartiality which, if naïve, is yet also sanctified with a new appreciation of what God hath wrought.

And these movements, these changes, and this question demand the interest, the study, and the sympathy of members of the Anglican Church. To press too eagerly and rapidly forward towards reunion in any direction has always been unwise and has defeated its own aim. The varied character of modern religious life both within and without the Establishment may suggest that the Acts of Uniformity, and the Judgments of the Privy Council, and the incubus of Ecclesiastical lawyers, have hampered unduly the worship and system of the Anglican Church; but a sudden reversal of everything which has been held most characteristic of our position will not hasten intercourse nor create confidence. The Historic Episcopate, with its opportunity for personal influence and the unique elasticity which it has shown in the past, may well supply a rallying point for Reunion. Meanwhile let us cultivate friendship. Let us acquire knowledge. We have shown abundantly in the preceding pages the possibility of friendly and fruitful intercourse and co-operation, where neither side need compromise any principle. The best method in all these matters is to begin where the course is clear. Where there may be much that is uncertain, and where there are many conflicting interests and opinions, the wise counsel is to do soberly,

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honestly, and quietly what lies clearly before us, and join to our friendly co-operation our earnest prayers to God, in His own good time to bring together the scattered members of the Christian Church.

ART. VII.—TEACHING THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. *Letters to a Godson: How to Read the Old Testament in the Light of the New.* By M. CYRIL BICKERSTETH, of the Community of the Resurrection. (Oxford: Mowbray, 1901.)
2. *The Churchman's Introduction to the Old Testament.* ('Churchman's Library' Series.) By ANGUS M. MACKAY, Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Edinburgh. (London: Methuen, 1901.)
3. *History of the Hebrews.* By R. L. OTTLEY, Rector of Winterbourne Bassett. (Cambridge University Press, 1901.)
4. *The Old Testament and the New Scholarship.* ('Churchman's Library' Series.) By JOHN P. PETERS, D.D., Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York. (London: Methuen, 1901.)
5. *Old Testament History.* By G. WOOSUNG WADE, D.D., Lecturer in Hebrew at St. David's College, Lampeter. (London: Methuen, 1901.)

THE Christian Church in all ages has found in the Old Testament at once a priceless heirloom and a cause of ceaseless difficulty. If, for example, we go back to the second century we find her fighting out the battle with those who accepted Christ as Redeemer, but refused to acknowledge that He based His work on the Law and the Prophets. Many of the Gnostics hated Judaism, and thought to exalt our Lord by denying that God had made preparation for His coming by training the elect nation under the old Covenant. But the Church held firm to the principles of her Founder. It was true that Christ superseded, abrogated,

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relaxed much that had been inculcated by the teachers of the old system. But it was equally true that He fulfilled the Law and the Prophets; that if He was the substance and the reality they still had their value as foreshadowings. As usual the *via media* was attacked from both sides. At the outset the difficulty was to get the Gentiles admitted to religious equality with the Jews and emancipated from any obligation to observe the ceremonial precepts of the Law; in the next century the opposite swing of the pendulum was no less dangerous, and the Church had to fight against pagan as she had before fought against Jewish exclusiveness. Naturally men like Marcion appealed to the early champions of the Gentiles, the opponents of the Judaizers; but they were hoist with their own petard. St. Paul himself had asserted almost in the same breath the Catholicity of the Christian Church and the reality of the privileges enjoyed by the chosen people. 'What advantage then hath the Jew? First of all, that they were intrusted with the oracles of God.' These oracles had been the Bible of Jesus Christ Himself. They had been the Bible of His Apostles. They could not cease to be part of the Bible of the Church. Though the records of the Incarnation and the new Covenant were yet more precious, that did not mean that the old were to be discarded as useless. And so the Church rejected Gnosticism, and clung to the Old Testament, for she knew where God's truth had been cradled in its infancy. Though she contained a thousand times more Gentiles than Jews she still had to say to the uncircumcised, 'It is not thou that bearest the root, but the root thee.' 'To the Jew first and also to the Greek' applies not only to the meting out of reward and punishment at the Last Day, but also as a matter of history to God's revelations of Himself in the past; and the Old Testament is one of the greatest of God's gifts to us.

Later ages have found other difficulties beset their use of the Hebrew Scriptures. Some of the events that are recorded seem so trivial and worldly, and are sometimes even so immoral, that men have constantly tried to dignify them by allegorical interpretation. There have always been stumbling-blocks in the narrative of Creation. The miracles have

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appeared to be incredible, or too like the reputed works of magicians. The early narratives are closely allied to heathen tales, the ceremonies of worship to the practices of heathen temples. God is represented as commanding or allowing what affronts the conscience of more civilized days. The Psalms contain passages that breathe a relentless hatred against the foe. Much of Proverbs seems no more than worldly wisdom; Canticles a mere love poem. None of these difficulties are, as we are sometimes apt to fancy, the peculiar birth of our age, or of what we call the critical spirit. They are at least as old as Christianity. The pagan Porphyry, for instance, found fault with the Christian allegorists for their vain attempt to ennoble the 'baseness' of the Jewish Scriptures. Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom defended God's toleration of animal sacrifices as a concession to heathen tradition and to the weakness of human nature. Augustine declared that it was not the function of the Bible to tell us what we can find out for ourselves, and defended the extermination of the Canaanites on the basis of the principles of accommodation. Caesarius of Arles taught men how to make devotional use of the imprecatory Psalms. If for a long period there was but little heard of such attack or defence it was because (at any rate in the West) the Church had to inculcate in the half-converted barbarians the very elements of Christian life and doctrine, and such difficulties only rise in ages of thought and reflexion. But with the recovery of Greek and Hebrew questionings burst out again; and though they change their form and their incidence they are never likely to cease until we know no longer in part but see face to face.

So far we have spoken only of objections to the 'matter,' to the moral and spiritual teaching, of the Old Testament. But neither in earlier nor in later days have difficulties arisen exclusively on such points. Questions of authorship and composition have always been with us. The controversies raised by the Higher Criticism have assumed a fresh shape in recent times, but in principle they are no new thing. The frontiers of the Canon have never been finally settled. Theodore of Mopsuestia is said to have refused credence to the titles of the Psalms, and to have rejected Chronicles, Ezra,

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and Nehemiah. Origen disputed the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews; Dionysius of Alexandria the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse. In the Reformation period the Council of Trent said one thing about the Canon and the English Articles another, while Luther doubted if Moses wrote the Pentateuch, and Calvin detected the spirit of the Exile in the latter part of Isaiah. To-day the most zealous advocates of the 'traditional' views about the rest of the Old Testament are widely divided as to the value to be attributed to the Apocrypha.

It is, indeed, one of the most striking features about the Bible that while wayfaring men, though fools, need not err therein, but find the record of God's revelation of Himself to be indeed a lantern unto their feet and a light unto their paths, yet there is always ground for questioning and matter for scholarly inquiry; faith can never stand by idle, but is ever kept on its mettle; and learning has no need to weep, like Alexander, for the lack of new worlds to conquer.

Thus reassured by the experiences of the past, and prepared to find that each generation has to bear its share of the burden of the Bible difficulties, we turn in no spirit of impatience or of despair to consider the Scriptural stumbling-blocks of to-day. They fall, broadly speaking, into two classes—those in which the strain is one of conscience and the moral sense, a matter of truthfulness, justice, or mercy, and those in which the issue is intellectual, a matter of reason and knowledge. We propose to treat of the latter class first, because such problems beset most men long before they feel the more serious pressure of the moral difficulties. We include, then, under the first division such points as the alleged conflict between Genesis and Natural Science, the inconsistencies and uncertainties of detail in the Scriptures, the omission to inform us of much that we desire to know, from who was Cain's wife upwards. We do not think we are over-sanguine when we say that in almost all cases the difficulty, if it is one of this kind, vanishes as the man learns and thinks more. He begins to see that the true function of the Bible is not to teach us all about everything, or to answer any question that may conceivably be put, but to

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teach us about God and man's relation to Him. Few thinking people nowadays are unable to reconcile the spiritual teaching of the first chapter of Genesis with scientific proofs of the vast antiquity of the world. No one pins his faith to Ussher's chronology. The time is long since past when scholars could profess to have ascertained the day of the month, even the hour of the day, when God said, 'Let there be light.' If the doctrine of the development of the human race from a non-human ancestry still raises difficulty in men's minds, it is either from inveterate but natural prejudice or from perplexity as to the bearing of Darwinism on the truth of original sin and the unity of the race; it is not because of any inability to see that such a view harmonizes with the statement that God made man out of the dust of the earth. Who is vexed by the uncertainty whether the animals went into the ark by pairs or by sevens, or whether Moses wrote the account of his own death? The human element in the writing of the Books is on all sides recognized; and it is not expected that there should be no seeming inconsistencies or mistakes, though men begin to see more and more clearly that further knowledge might explain many of these away. Men are more ready than they used to be to wait, to leave some things uncertain, and to see that the divine guidance which we call Inspiration may well have been so limited in its operation as to admit of trifling errors in detail, and even of prepossession, and what may be called insularity, in the standpoint and outlook of various authors. It is not heresy to hold that St. Matthew wrote as a Jew for Jews, or St. Luke as a Gentile for Gentiles; or that the Hebrew took a different view of events from the Assyrian, the Chronicler from the older Prophets. Reflexion and the experience of life teach men not to magnify such difficulties.

The pressing problem, so far as these matters are concerned, is how best to train the young and ignorant. On the one hand we cannot too forcibly impress on children a pious reverence for the sacred volume; but children do not understand the proportions of things, and lay stress on what may be very unimportant. On the other hand we only court disaster if we send them out into the world, be it the world

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of the University or that of the factory or the counting house, feeling themselves pledged to defend every detail of the sacred narratives, or else altogether surrender their faith in the Bible, even it may be in Him of Whom the Scriptures witness. Opinions will differ as to how far the young should be forewarned of critical and other difficulties in detail. Mr. Bickersteth goes a very long way in that direction. But we think that there is likely to be a general agreement on such principles as these, which it may be well to lay down before we discuss his book.

(*a*) The child must be taught to reverence and speak to God, and the Bible must be definitely put on a lower level, more like that of the child's parents. It is the book from which we learn about God. It is a gift from God. It is holy. But it is not holy in the sense in which God is holy. It is not to be worshipped. It cannot help us apart from God.

(*b*) The Bible needs study as well as prayer, if we are to understand it rightly; and if we jump to conclusions in dealing with it we are very likely to go wrong.

(*c*) The beginning of religious teaching is, as the Catechism tells us, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. And at first the Bible must be used to illustrate and explain these essentials. It is a mistake to start anyone on the Bible without guidance of any sort. The child must be brought to God revealed in Christ first. He must learn the main outlines before he can use the Bible rightly. Let us quote Mr. Bickersteth on this point. 'We are not sent to the Bible to pick out a religion for ourselves, but we are taught by the Church, and then sent back to the Bible to find the confirmation of the truth.'

(*d*) In Bible lessons the child must be taught to look below the surface, and find and value and remember the moral or spiritual truth that the narrative illustrates. Alas, how seldom is this done in our week-day and even our Sunday schools, and perhaps least of all in our upper-class homes and in the public schools! It is so easy to know the story of Abraham's wanderings and to show them on a map, without any attempt to realize his faith; easy to be able to

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repeat the names of Jacob's sons without understanding the moral discipline that their father underwent. Such surface knowledge lies ready to hand for teaching to a class, and is more suitable for test purposes in an examination than the deeper spiritual truths; but if this is the whole content of the Scripture lesson it must inevitably create the impression that the function of the Bible is to teach a number of historical facts, and if doubt is cast upon these the whole use of the Scriptures seems to be imperilled. But train the lad to discern the divine beneath the human, and though he will not cease to care whether, for instance, Job is an historical person or not, he will bear the discussion of the question with equanimity.

(*e*) And the last and perhaps the most important rule to be laid down is, as we have already indicated, that we are not to expect in the Bible an answer to all the questions that the twentieth century may choose to ask on astronomy or morphology or ethnology, or even history. The Bible, like one of our Lord's parables, is true, but if we press it beyond its main purposes our inferences are precarious and may soon prove fallacious.

It is easier to lay down such principles than to carry them out in practical teaching, easier to formulate them in general than to apply them to the Bible narratives in turn. And therefore we are disposed to welcome the labours of any man of thoughtfulness, of reverence, and of prayer who will address himself to the task of helping others in this matter.

Mr. Bickersteth's *Letters to a Godson* are the result of such an attempt. They are a series of first lessons on the Bible for a boy of ten or twelve. With certain reservations, we think the work is admirably done. It is best to let such a book speak for itself; and as samples of it we will quote what the author writes on the passage of the Red Sea, on Jonah and on Daniel, which may fairly serve as crucial tests of his tone and method.

'We need not be surprised if we find difficulties and even contradictions in the narrative, but we certainly need not listen to people who try to explain away the miraculous element altogether. To those who believe in the living God, Who is at once the ruler of the

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universe and the deliverer of the people, there is no difficulty in believing that He made a way for His people through the Red Sea, and caused the waves to overwhelm the Egyptians who pursued them. We believe that God protected England from invasion not only by the bravery of our ancestors, but by the storm which overthrew the Spanish Armada, and so we believe that He stretched out His arm and brought His people through the waters and overwhelmed their foes.'

'Sceptics and unbelievers have ridiculed the story of Jonah from the first, and on the other hand great Christian teachers like S. Cyril and S. Augustine have insisted on its literal truth. But S. Augustine made it clear that a man should first settle the much more important question about the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. He says of one who doubted: "Let him, if he will, first ask questions, such as he has asked, concerning Christ and those few great questions to which the rest are subordinate. But if he think to finish all such questions as this of Jonah before he becomes a Christian, he little apprehends human mortality or his own." There are, I think, three ways in which people may treat this difficult question: Some say you cannot believe in Jesus Christ unless you believe that the great fish swallowed Jonah, and that he lived in its belly three days and three nights; some say the thing is impossible and so it is foolish to believe it; others say, and I think they are the wisest, the story is not impossible and it may be quite true, but it is certainly not an article of faith. . . . I hope I have said enough to show you that the Book of Jonah is full of interest and instruction, quite apart from the question of its authorship and date, or of the literal truth of the story of the great fish.'

'This [the date of the Book of Daniel] is one of the many questions about which it is wiser to keep an open mind. When you are old enough to appreciate arguments of the sort, listen carefully to what real students have to say about questions of language and date, but never doubt the main point, viz. that God the Holy Ghost inspired the prophets and enabled them to foretell the coming of the Kingdom of God.'

In our opinion Mr. Bickersteth expects too much of his little nephew. He dwells upon matters which few boys will care about, and too often introduces the suggestion that the narratives may perhaps be of composite structure and of late date. Granting, for the sake of argument, that recent theories have come to stay, it will have been well to throw

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out once or twice hints that such views are held, and are not fatal to a belief in the Inspiration of the Bible; but there is no need to protrude them again and again. Mr. Bickersteth is careful not to lay them down dogmatically, and he constantly asserts that questions of date and authenticity do not matter much. But we should have preferred to hear less of them. It is better in teaching children to lay down positively what is important and certain, and as a rule to say nothing about what is uncertain or less significant. Nor can we acquit our author of some serious inaccuracies. But we must pass these by, and conclude our notice of this helpful book with three brief extracts.

'Your grandmother taught us to love and reverence the Bible very much. I remember that, if anyone dropped the Bible, he had to kiss it as he picked it up. I think that helped me to think of the Bible as being quite different to any other book.'

'I hope you won't waste your time in wondering who Cain's wife was. I have often been asked the question, and I have not got the least idea. People ask that silly sort of question because they expect to find in the Bible a complete account of the human family, whereas God inspired the sacred writer only to record the facts which have to do with His providential ordering of the world.'

'The main object of our Bible study has been to bring us back to Christ. In the terrible results of sin we have seen how the world needed a Saviour; in the longings of saints and psalmists for the living God we have seen the expression of a want which could only be satisfied by the Incarnation of our Lord. In the movements of the great world-empires and the whole course of history we have seen that God was preparing Jew and Gentile alike for a great spiritual kingdom, in which at last all nations shall find their home.

'I hope very much that these letters may encourage you and others also to read the Bible constantly, reverently, and with much prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit.'

The other set of difficulties which beset us to-day touch on more vital points than the intellectual uncertainties of which we have been speaking. The morality of the Scriptures and of the inspired authors is challenged, and some people even stake the credit of our Lord Himself on the issue. Stumbling-blocks of this character are the more serious for another

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reason also. The mountains do not become mole-hills as life goes on and experience widens. Indeed the converse is the case. The child hardly realizes, for instance, what was involved in the command to exterminate the Canaanites. But as the man grows older he sees more clearly both the imperfections of the Old Testament morality and the resemblances between the Bible narratives and those of other nations; and he begins to wonder whether the Scriptures are really inspired. He finds himself taking what he has been told is the wrong side: he prefers Esau to Jacob, Sisera to Jael, Saul to Samuel, the 'adversaries' to Zerubbabel and Ezra. And as he gets to understand what bias and prejudice and *ex parte* statement mean he is likely to be troubled at finding the same sort of thing apparently in the Bible. Again, he is puzzled by finding that certain books or parts of books were not written by those whose names they bear. Was it honest to give to later enactments the prestige of Moses' name? to attribute Ecclesiastes to Solomon, if it was not written till centuries after his death? These are not questions of inaccuracy in detail, of incompleteness, minute contradictions, and all the other phenomena which are common in all cases where independent and conscientious witnesses cover the same ground, and which are to be found in the four Gospels themselves. We are now brought face to face with the very serious question, Was the work conscientiously done? Or was there some sort of deception and fraud about the composition of certain books that have been hitherto regarded as inspired?

In a large measure such difficulties as these are met by consistent application of the idea that there is in the Old Testament moral progress. Thirty years ago Dr. Mozley was urging that the Israelites were in a very elementary stage of morals when they entered Palestine, that they had little sense of the value of the individual or of the obligation of truthfulness, that God trained them gradually to a higher stage of morality, and that the end is the true test of a progressive revelation. The same principles hold to-day; only if the critics are right the moral progress of the Hebrews was slower and less continuous than Dr. Mozley thought. The

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narratives which applaud relentless bloodshed, the vindictive psalms, the legislation on the avenger of blood are now held to belong to a much later date than he assigned to them. But this does not create any real objection to his argument; for it is likely enough that there were ups and downs in the history of the moral development of the race. And, moreover, the difficulty is nothing new. We have always known that Hosea condemned Jehu's ruthless slaughter of the house of Ahab, and yet the compiler of Kings 200 years later approved of it. This is no new invention of the critics, for no one has ever supposed that the Book of Kings was finished till long after Hosea's time. It is easy to say that this looks like progress backwards; but the fact is that it is a mistake to think of Israel as if the whole nation advanced and developed together. There were always the better men and the worse in it. Date the psalms when you will you cannot suppose that the whole nation had reached the spiritual level of the psalmist. It certainly was not so in David's time, or in Hezekiah's, or during the Exile, or after it, or in the days of the Maccabees. And it is consistent with all we know of the history of the chosen people, and all we know of God's methods in all ages, that we should find co-existing side by side men, actions and books of very different degrees of moral character and spiritual insight. And thus Dr. Mozley's defence of the imperfect morality of the Old Testament will not be invalidated by any conceivable rearrangement of the dates of the various books.

The same line of argument may also be applied to the question of truthfulness or deception in the authors of the books. The essence of the method is to bid us throw ourselves back in imagination into the period of, say, Abraham, Joshua, Jael, and consider what in that state of moral progress would have seemed the right thing to do. Let us, then, in extension of the same principle, put ourselves into the position of one of the exiled priests, and (assuming for the moment the truth of recent critical views) consider what would have then seemed the right thing to say and write. Here, we might have said, is a great body of customs which used to be observed in our fathers' time; nay, not observed,

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for they were constantly hindered by idolatrous opponents. These customs in their origin date back to Moses. They are the traditional rites and ceremonies which have been handed on to us by our ancestors. We must write them down, lest all memory of them be lost. We will not perpetuate the corruptions of unhappy days, but as far as possible state the ideal, the standard of what ought to have been, of what shall be if we are ever restored to the holy city. In such a spirit it is supposed that the Priestly Code was composed. Moreover, in view of the universal prevalence of conservatism in matters of ceremonial, and of the general tendency of mankind to attribute admirable institutions to the name of some great hero, as trial by jury is assigned to Alfred, or the Roman *comitia* to Servius Tullius, we cannot be surprised if the compilers of the Priestly Code could not help associating the names of Moses with institutions that critics in a more scholarly age, with the aid of a comparative study of other codes and of the books of the prophets and the historians, can see to have been long subsequent to him. If a hasty judgment accuses the codifier of fraud, a more reasonable and sympathetic consideration of the circumstances will acquit him altogether.

We have not the space to attempt to work out the answers that may be made to other difficulties of like character, but must turn to the consideration of the books whose names stand at the head of this article. Of Mr. Bickersteth's Letters we have already spoken. We take next the essays and studies of Dr. Peters of St. Michael's, New York. Naturally the weightiest part of the book is that in which he writes on Biblical archæology with the authority of one who has himself investigated and explored. Here he is rightly anxious that people should not overestimate the value to the upholders of tradition of the testimony borne by excavators and decipherers. Solid and convincing as that testimony is, it must not be pressed too far: to overstate one's case is the worst wrong one can do to it.

'In general the historical records so far discovered confirm the statements and the historical representations of Samuel, Kings, and

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the Prophets. Hebrew history as recorded in those books is proved by the comparison to be honest and trustworthy, but not infallible, as, for instance, in the matter of chronology, nor altogether without bias, and a natural inclination toward a patriotic colouring of the story. Chronicles, on the other hand, is shown to be of little or no value for purposes of political history, while Esther, Daniel, and Jonah, once supposed to be historical, are made to appear fictitious. . . . From Egypt what we have obtained is perplexing. The monuments do not necessarily contradict the Hebrew records as to the earlier periods, but neither can we say with any certainty that they support the Bible narrative. This I say in deprecation of the statements, published from time to time, that archæology has proved the truth of the Bible story. Such statements are misleading. . . . Because Egypt and Syria and Babylonia were civilised, it does not follow that the Hebrews of Moses' time and their ancestors of the patriarchal period, although living by and in those countries, were familiar with their culture and their arts. They are represented in the Bible as like the *bedawin* Arabs who wander through or live in those countries to-day, and are yet absolutely untouched by their civilisation. . . . As *bedawin* the Hebrews entered Egypt, as *bedawin* they came out. As *bedawin* they invaded Canaan. There first they acquired their civilisation, but not their religion. Such is the Bible representation. To give us pictures of Babylonian or Egyptian civilisation in those early days is beside the point.'

Mr. Ottley's work is of a very different character. He has attempted to provide intelligent readers who are not profound students of Scriptural knowledge with a satisfactory text-book of the history of the Hebrews to serve as a guide when they are reading the Old Testament. Besides such aids as maps and chronological tables he gives brief descriptions of the nations with whom the Hebrews were brought into contact and summaries of the various periods of their history, with such gleanings from the monuments as are indispensable for the right understanding of the events. But he has done well in weaving all this together into a continuous narrative. We have already a choice of *Bible Dictionaries* and of *Aids to the Study of the Bible*; we have books like Mr. Mackay's, which consists of a series of introductions to the different books, with brief chapters on inspiration, archæology, the Law, the Prophets; and we have excellent commentaries on

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various portions of the Scriptures; but none of these serve the purpose of presenting the whole story in a clear and orderly way, and in the reasonable compass of 300 pages. There can be no doubt of the need for a book of this kind, not to supersede the reading of the Bible itself, but, as Mr. Ottley says, presupposing and encouraging it. How far does Mr. Ottley satisfy our reasonable expectations?

The history falls into two parts, and we propose to follow the same division in our comments, only taking the second part first, which is also the part in which we think Mr. Ottley is at his best. From Samuel onwards we have records that are, as a rule, contemporary with the events they describe, or at least built up out of contemporary records. The broad outlines of the history are beyond dispute. The Hebrews were frequently in contact with nations whose monuments have remained to this day and have yielded up their secrets to scholars. And as century succeeds century more and more light can be thrown on the historical books from the prophetical and on the Bible narrative, as a whole, from sources outside itself. In this section the difficulties of the Higher Criticism do not bulk largely, and, broadly speaking, both schools of thought are in agreement, at any rate as regards the history. Isaiah, for instance, certainly lived under Hezekiah, and Cyrus as certainly sent the Jews back to Palestine; and the dating of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah is of far more consequence to the detailed interpretation of these chapters than it is to such an outline of the history as Mr. Ottley gives us. Indeed, it hardly affects his narrative at all. As will be expected he holds that these chapters date from the time of Cyrus, and speaks of 'the thrilling voice of the great unnamed prophet,' and of the emotions with which 'the word of consolation' was hailed. But it would have made but little difference if he had adhered to the traditional view, and spoken of the dawning on the exiles of the true meaning of the words uttered nearly two centuries before by Isaiah, and of the enthusiasm with which they must have repeated them to one another. There are, of course, other cases where difficulties arise. The treatment of the Books of Daniel and of Esther, for instance, must

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inevitably give birth to acute differences of opinion. Mr. Ottley says of the former:

'It is impossible to determine how far the story of Daniel's career is historical. . . . The noble and edifying stories of the Book of Daniel are to be regarded . . . as religious narratives based indeed upon historical facts, but dealing with them purely for purposes of instruction and edification. . . . Incidentally it is interesting to notice how true to history is the portrait of Nebuchadnezzar, the haughty and powerful monarch, whose chief boast it was that he had built or restored the temples of the gods and had made Babylon the most magnificent of ancient cities. . . . The apocalypse of Daniel seems to have been written (probably early in the year 165) with the design of encouraging and sustaining the heroes and martyrs of the Maccabæan persecution under the pressure of their sufferings. The book is remarkable in many respects, chiefly perhaps for its comparative freedom from the fierce passions that were excited by the conflict. The Book of Daniel is not classed by the Jews among "the prophets," but it reflects some of the noblest characteristics of Hebrew prophecy; its sense of the divine Providence ruling in history, and its invincible confidence in the final victory of the cause of God.'

We may, or we may not, agree with the critical position here taken up, which has difficulties of its own, and which, we notice, is not put forward dogmatically, but with a caution that only declares that this or that is probable. But in either case we must acknowledge the reverence and width of view with which Mr. Ottley speaks. We are not presented with a crude and irreverent dilemma. It is not a case of *aut Cæsar aut nullus.* It used to be contended that either Daniel lived throughout the period of the Exile, and wrote every word of the book from beginning to end, and the narrative part is all matter of fact history, and the apocalyptic part the narrative of events before they came to pass—or else the whole book is a fraud and unworthy of a place in the Canon, and perhaps yet graver consequences follow from the fact that our Lord quoted a phrase from it. Such methods of argument in the criticism of the Old Testament are happily out of date. We of to-day have learnt to see new meaning and point in the old sayings. 'God fulfils Himself in many ways.' He 'spake unto the fathers by

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divers portions and in divers manners.' God, who used parable and symbol, who out of the mouths of babes and sucklings perfected praise, may, we feel, have also employed as means of teaching stories which had only a basis in history, but which were edifying and stimulating. It is not for us to say what God can or cannot have done. He may have deigned to use uplifting visions of His control of events, even though (if it be so) they were circulated under an assumed name. We do not say that the question is settled. There is need for much more balancing of *pros* and *cons*. But, assuming for the moment the truth of Mr. Ottley's views, God's method, if we may presume to say so, has been justified by the experiences of later ages. For the Book of Daniel is still as full of instruction to us now as it was to Jews of the Maccabæan period, or to the Christian martyrs who fed their courage on its heroic tales; and though it was one of the last books of the Old Testament to be received into the Canon its claims have been amply vindicated.

Of the Book of Esther Mr. Ottley says it 'may well be based upon some historical incident arising out of the "Jew-hatred" which was a feature of the ancient as of the modern world'; and he quotes Professor Sayce's opinion: 'The story of Esther is an example of Jewish *haggâdah*, which has been founded upon one of those semi-historical tales of which the Persian chronicles seem to have been full.' 'It has often been noticed,' Mr. Ottley continues, 'that the name of God is not mentioned in the book, but it is nevertheless the product of an unshaken faith in the providence of God, overruling the destinies of His people, and raising up fitting instruments for their deliverance.'

We have thought it well to quote at some length Mr. Ottley's language on these controversial points, because he is an example of the combination of fearless acceptance of many of the opinions of the Higher Criticism with a faith and reverence which could not be surpassed by the most devoted adherent of the old school. We may not agree with his views, but we cannot find fault with his loyalty to God.

To turn back to the earlier period, which includes the times of the patriarchs, of the Exodus, and of the

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long-continued wars of conquest and self-defence in Palestine. Here we are of course in the thick of the battle of the Higher Criticism; and we doubt whether the time has quite come for such an attempt as Mr. Ottley's. Too many questions are still undecided. Too much is mere conjecture and guess-work. On the one hand it is possible to do, as we all do when we read the lessons aloud in church—namely, to take the narratives as they stand, and try to learn their moral and spiritual lessons. It is possible, on the other hand, to argue at length on the critical analysis of the books, and on the light which recent archæology has thrown on the period with which they deal. But is it wise as yet to attempt a broad survey of the whole, and try to popularize a compromise between tradition and criticism, which can only be tentative and insecure? Mr. Ottley has made the venture, and we rather respect his courage than admire his success.

In many parts of these chapters he takes the line of simply condensing the Bible narrative. And it would be possible to string together passages which the old-fashioned orthodoxy of fifty years ago would welcome and endorse.

'The very key note of the Old Testament is contained in the master-thought which inspires the narrative [of Creation]—that of the omnipotence and perfect goodness of the God whom Israel had learned to worship. And it is noticeable that the spiritual view of nature which pervades the story became habitual to devout Israelites. It reappears in such passages as Job xxxviii. and in many of the Psalms.'

'Underlying the narrative [of Babel] we can discern the Hebrew conception of sin as consisting in self-assertion and rebellion against God. The story also reflects the conviction that the separation of races is an evil, due to a primaeval curse which in the Messianic age is destined to be reversed.'

'There is no cogent reason for doubting that the migration of Israel's ancestors from Mesopotamia was actually the starting-point of a higher faith, based on conceptions of the Divine nature and character which afterwards formed the foundation of the pure and austere religion taught by Moses and the Prophets. He whom Moses was commissioned to proclaim to his oppressed fellow-tribesmen in Egypt as their saviour and deliverer was none other than the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.'

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'Esau has none of the faults which mar the character of Jacob, but also has none of his capacity for greatness. Jacob on the other hand is a type of "the spiritual man," whose higher nature is slowly and painfully developed. . . . Only when he has paid a bitter penalty for his wrong-doing is he visited by a vision of glory which transfigures him and lifts him to greatness. . . . His act of deceit brought its inevitable penalty, and the story of his life is a kind of parable describing the painful but salutary discipline by which the character of the "supplanter" was transformed into that of Israel, the hero who strives with God and prevails.'

But side by side with such passages there are those that will give deep offence. It is not only that Mr. Ottley says:

'It is quite beside the mark to enquire curiously into the relation of the biblical cosmogony to the ascertained facts of modern science. The important point is that Israel's sacred book begins with a *religious* account of the origins both of the universe and of mankind—an account which is designed to render the whole subsequent story credible and intelligible. For the history of Israel, it must be remembered, is a history of redemption: the underlying interest of the whole Old Testament is the fact that it points from the first to the accomplishment of a divine purpose of salvation. That Almighty God, the God who specially revealed Himself to the Jewish people, called the universe into being; that He existed before it and is distinct from it; that all created power depends immediately upon His sustaining power at each stage of its upward development; that all things which owe their existence to Him are essentially *good*; finally, that there is an "ascent in life" in nature—*i.e.* a certain fixed order and gradation in the appearance of different forms of life—these primary truths are conveyed in the form of a simple and singularly impressive narrative of the cosmogony which was originally common to perhaps the greater part of the Semitic race. . . .

'"Double narratives" of the same event frequently recur in the history, which modern critical analysis of the Hebrew text has enabled us to distinguish. It is noticeable that the compilers make little or no attempt to harmonize conflicting statements. They are only anxious to preserve each tradition, so far as possible, in its integrity. They doubtless regard each as conveying some elements of sacred teaching, which it is important to preserve.'

Such views have now obtained a large measure of acceptance.

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But it will still shock people to be told that the story of Babel

'belongs to an age in which there prevailed on the one hand a powerful spirit of curiosity as regards the origin of things, and on the other, a very simple and childlike conception of the divine nature. Hebrew historians employed such legends with perfect freedom, nor did they hesitate to adopt or alter them in any way that might bring them into closer conformity with the spirit of their religion. . . . Hebrew folk-lore however differs from that of the heathen races in its rationality, its dignified sobriety, and its almost entire freedom from immoral or irreligious elements. The study of comparative history, while it has clearly demonstrated the close connexion which exists between the early narratives of Genesis and the primitive myths of other Oriental peoples, has enabled us to discern in the former that controlling guidance and selecting action of the Holy Spirit of God which we commonly call "Inspiration."'

Again, though it has long been recognized that the names in the tenth chapter of Genesis belong rather to tribes than to individuals, yet Mr. Ottley will not readily carry people with him in continuing such a method of interpretation down to a much later date.

'It is probable that a large proportion of the names connected with Abraham and his descendants are those not of individuals, but of races and tribes, and that some at any rate of the prominent figures in the book of Genesis are only personifications of the races whose name they bear.' 'Whether Joseph himself is an historic personage has been questioned on perhaps insufficient grounds. In any case it is probable that the tribe of which Joseph was the representative failed in an attempt to exercise the hegemony over the other tribes; and that it was forced to take refuge in Egypt, where it presently rose to a position of power and was ultimately joined by the rest of the Hebrews.'

This is a sort of Biblical Euemerism, and we very much doubt whether it deserves a place in a short *History of the Hebrews*. Let scholars argue and dispute and investigate. Let theologians remind us that our faith will not be affected by such interpretations of Scripture if they were proved to be true. But meanwhile it would surely be enough in a text-book had such speculations found only a brief recognition in a foot note.

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We are much more in sympathy with Mr. Ottley when we turn to his accounts of the writing of the various component parts of the Pentateuch. Here is a question that cannot be set aside. It must be dealt with frankly and reverently. Mr. Ottley of course accepts the views of modern criticism. It is no part of our present purpose to discuss these theories. Our concern is with the writer's treatment of them. Following him, then, provisionally in assuming them to be true, we feel grateful for the thoughtful and appreciative way in which he writes of the composition of the books in question. Given that they are not by Moses, what better could be said of them than this?

'The result [of the Exile] was that the Jews learned to find a new interest in the history of their nation: the sacred records were diligently collected and carefully studied, and more than one school of writers devoted itself to the task of compiling, revising and editing afresh the literary monuments of the past. It is indeed possible to distinguish two main groups of *literati* to whose labours the Old Testament scriptures owe to a great extent their present form. On the one hand historians of the Deuteronomic school, *i.e.* those whose views of history and conceptions of Jehovah were moulded by the peculiar teaching of Deuteronomy, began to gather together into a connected historical work the extant documents that related to the earlier history of Israel. Their work seems to have been gradually brought to completion at different times and by many different hands. The result however may be seen in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch and in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings (the so-called "former prophets"). The circumstances under which they were compiled explain the peculiar character of these historical books, which may be regarded as forming collectively a kind of *theodicy—i.e.* a systematic attempt to justify Jehovah's dealings with His people. The calamities of the nation are uniformly regarded by this school of writers as being the due reward of its sins, especially of its frequent lapses into idolatry. To them it seemed that the religious policy of Jeroboam I. of Israel, and in a later century that of Manasseh of Judah, had brought upon the nation a retribution which the superficial reformation in the reign of Josiah had been unable to avert. The other chief school of exilic writers was sacerdotal. We must remember that when sacrifice was impossible the occupation of the priesthood was virtually gone. Members of the priestly caste however found

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a new outlet for their energies in literary work. They devoted themselves to the task of codifying the ancient "law of holiness" and of compiling that elaborate exposition of Israel's laws and early history which is commonly called the "priestly code." These writers were apparently anxious to commit to another generation, whose privilege it might be to restore the temple and its worship, the ancient tradition of priestly usage. The "priestly code" was not indeed a new code of law, but rather a kind of detailed account of the immemorial practices and customs connected with the worship of the ancestral sanctuary. . . . This "priestly code" was during the Exile combined with the Deuteronomic work described above, and there is good reason for supposing that the Pentateuch in its present shape was completed some time before Ezra visited Jerusalem in 458.'

'The general effect of this elaborate and formal code was two-fold. On the one hand it played a real part in the religious education of Israel. It tended to develop and deepen the sense o sin, and it awakened in devout souls religious affections: trust, devotion, self-surrender, thankful love, the longing for divine grace. But the dangers that might beset the observance of so detailed a code are obvious enough: the spirit of formalism, the confusion of technical holiness with moral purity, the readiness to acquiesce in a merely external standard of religion. We should remember however that the very book which included the priestly legislation also contained the deeper spiritual teaching of Deuteronomy.'

We say again that we welcome Mr. Ottley's book, in spite of a good deal that seems to us might have been better away. The problems of the Higher Criticism are being constantly canvassed, not indeed (as we rejoice to think) in the columns of the daily press, with all the dust and confusion that a public contest in the arena entails, but none the less seriously and anxiously. And it is, therefore, well that from time to time devout men who accept the newer views should put forward in a popular form the confession of their belief that the fundamental truths still stand unshaken. The things most to be feared are panic and exaggeration: and Mr. Ottley's *History of the Hebrews* should tend to check both evils. We should feel more confident of this if he had made it a History of the Hebrews from Samuel to Herod, and had given only a brief summary of the preceding period, leaving all the details as open questions for further research. In this

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way he would have given us his best work and avoided saying much that is likely to excite opposition and prejudice, and yet may after all prove indefensible. But, even as it is, we welcome the publication of the book. It ought to have a reassuring effect if people will read it with cool heads and open minds.

Dr. Wade's *Old Testament History* is, like Mr. Ottley's, written from the standpoint of the advanced criticism of to-day. It is a much longer and more detailed work, well and clearly written, and, so far as we have tested it, wonderfully free of mistakes, but lacking the charm of Mr. Ottley's book, and making a greater demand on the reader's powers of application. It is, if we may put it so, intended for professionals, and not for amateurs; only we hesitate to allow that any Christian may be an amateur in Bible study. We sometimes regret that the author assumes almost a patronizing tone towards the writers of Scripture, as if, considering their disadvantages, they have done very well on the whole. We cannot but notice a lack of humour, as when Dr. Wade, speaking of the Judgment of Solomon, says 'the true mother was only detected by the king's expedient of giving orders to divide the object in dispute.' We wish that the miracles were not so often minimized and explained away, and that in the narrative the human side of the prophets' action was less exclusively presented. For instance, about the anointing of Saul we are told, 'The selection of the man destined to be the first to beat back the Philistines from Israelitish soil was due, under Providence, to the penetration of a seer or prophet named Samuel, son of Elkanah, of Ramah in Ephraim.' All things happen 'under Providence'; through men God overrules all the rises and falls of dynasties and empires; but in this matter the direct prompting and guidance of God is specially dwelt upon in the Bible, and why should it be ignored and the supposed penetration of the prophet emphasized? Once more the book is incomplete, for though it is called an *Old Testament History* the Apocrypha is left out, and the Maccabees only brought in and very sketchily described in connexion with the Book of Daniel.

But on the whole the work is well done, and Dr. Wade

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presents his views of Old Testament history with independence and judgment, width of learning, and a sincere acceptance of the Christian creed. One of the best features in the book is to be found in the five chapters in which the development of religious ideas and practice is described. As it is sometimes alleged that the advocates of the Higher Criticism deny the possibility of predictive prophecy, and make this denial a cardinal principle in assigning the dates of books or portions of books, we quote from the fourth of these chapters the striking passage in which Dr. Wade collects some of the clearest instances of prediction.

'That the prophets themselves believed that they were invested with the power of prediction is apparent not only from the evidence afforded by the historians in regard to the earlier prophets, such as Ahijah, Micaiah, Elijah and Elisha, but from the first-hand testimony of such of them as have left written compositions behind them. It was with the view of appealing to the verdict of subsequent experience that they directed certain of their utterances to be placed on record and carefully preserved. Among these were announcements concerning the immediate future, which they made in order to accredit their statements respecting a period more remote [as instances are given Isaiah vii. and Jeremiah xxviii.] . . . And of predictions respecting both the nearer and the remoter future uttered by the writing prophets, the substantial fulfilment of which is a matter of history, a long series exists. [Dr. Wade cites Amos v. 27 and i. 5, Isaiah xxxvii. 29, Jeremiah xxvii. 9.] . . . But much more remarkable than this was Jeremiah's prophecy of the subsequent restoration of the exiles from the land of their captivity. There was nothing, according to all human reckoning, less likely than so strange a retrieval of fortune. Yet the assertion of it had occurred even in the utterances of the earlier prophets of the eighth century, who chiefly devoted themselves to denouncing their country's sins and predicting its punishment (Amos, Hosea, Micah). And as soon as the exile was an accomplished fact, both Jeremiah and Ezekiel repeated the assertion with emphasis. The period of the captivity was indicated by these two prophets respectively by the conventional numbers 70 and 40. And just half a century after the capture of Jerusalem, Babylon, which had overthrown Assyria, itself fell before the Persians; and one of the first acts of the conqueror Cyrus was to grant to the Jews liberty to return to their homes.'

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Finally it would not be difficult, were it worth while, to bring the different writers before us into contradiction on points of minor importance; but we have never been able to see that there is much force in the argument from the variations between the writers, unless it is simply used to check precipitate and dogmatic acceptance of their conclusions. Out of chaos comes order; out of conflict we advance to surer knowledge. And, on the whole, the agreement between the writers is far more striking than their differences, and its effect is enhanced when we notice that the books whose titles stand at the head of this article hail not only from Oxford and Cambridge, but from Wales and Scotland and North America.

ART. VIII.—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

1. *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson.* By GRAHAM BALFOUR. Two volumes. (London: Methuen, 1901.)
2. *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson to his Family and Friends.* Edited by SIDNEY COLVIN. Two volumes. (London: Methuen, 1899.)
3. *Robert Louis Stevenson.* By WALTER RALEIGH. (London: Arnold, 1895.)

MR. GRAHAM BALFOUR had a difficult task in his Life of Stevenson; he had to compete with Stevenson himself, to write a story that had already been told and illustrated in a thousand ways, between the first essays of Robert Louis Stevenson in the *Cornhill* and the letters to his family and friends which many people have found the most expressive of all his writings. It is obvious that here no absolute success was possible. Not even the genius of Boswell could have made the subject wholly his own; the Life of Stevenson must necessarily be something additional to the letters and the autobiographical essays, not an independent narrative but a sort of commentary on the varied text which Stevenson himself has furnished. The case is something like that of Southey in the Life of Cowper. Southey could not make

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this a book by itself; it came out as an introduction to Cowper's letters, and naturally had to retire when its secondary light was contrasted with the original and immediate deliverances of Cowper's own mind. It is high praise to say of any biography that it is like Southey, but it may be said with some confidence of Mr. Balfour's work. The Life of Stevenson is written with the unobtrusive, unpretentious good style, the sense and judgment, of an old and honourable tradition in literature; 'old-fashioned' perhaps may be a term that suggests itself, but certainly not with any depreciation of the merits of the book. Mr. Balfour has avoided the temptation of falling into Stevenson's manner of thinking; he writes as a friend and admirer, but not as a literary scholar or imitator of Stevenson. This independence of mind and style, the following of a sound orthodox manner of good writing without ambition or display, gives great value to his book, apart from the interest of its matter. It is a good literary example, refreshing in itself from its sanity and clearness, and an encouraging proof that the old models of English prose are not yet antiquated. Mr. Balfour, whatever criticisms may be passed on his treatment of his subject, has shown that he has the gift of composition which includes all the essential virtues, and which it may be hoped will be put to use again for other purposes of history. Nor can it be said of his work, as it possibly might of Southey's, that it shows a kind of taste to which the brilliances of style are not congenial, a conservative habit of mind which must needs be unjust and unsympathetic towards novelties of expression. Mr. Balfour though he writes a different kind of good English himself, has a most thorough understanding and appreciation of the 'finer shades' of Stevenson's literary exercises. He sees and admires the game, though he does not enter for it himself.

There are not wanting signs that the position of Stevenson is likely to be challenged by critics, and that possibly the enthusiasm of his admirers may have called out a reactionary sentiment; the *Advocatus Diaboli* has shown himself here and there, pointing out that Stevenson has been overpraised, that it is absurd to compare him with Scott, that his friends are inconsiderate and ought not to try to make up a factitious

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reputation for him which he is not strong enough to bear. This is all very natural, and will no doubt tend to produce in his case the sound conventional opinion about a dead author which seems to give comfort to the average well educated person. Stevenson will remain in the histories of literature; his place will be found for him by 'wits and Templars' or whatever in the culture of the twentieth century corresponds to those two orders of mind. It does not matter much. Only, while his memory is still fresh and his name still frequent on the lips of men, before his fame has quite retired into the dignity of Elysium, it may be permitted to make some protest against the fallacy of thinking that because his admirers are enthusiastic their judgment is out of proportion to the merits. Of the enthusiasm there can be no doubt. Perhaps no writer, not even Charles Lamb, has spoken so intimately to people whom he never knew: 'he is loved by those who never saw his face,' as Mr. Raleigh puts it simply and truly, at the close of an essay which surely ought to persuade the most austere that there was something in Stevenson to justify this admiration, while at the same time it expressly guards against any exaggerated judgment as to his due renown. The fallacy in which we imagine the Devil's Advocate will be detected and tripped up is that of thinking that strong admiration like this is a partisan feeling; that those who praise Stevenson are in the same degree running down Shakespeare, Scott, Montaigne, and generally the whole society of Parnassus. But surely this is not so; it certainly is not so in Mr. Raleigh's discourse, which is as strong as can be in praise of its hero, but has no illusions about the limitations of his power. One may admire fervently, praise enthusiastically, and yet not wish to set one's idol in competition with any other divinity. One may praise (for example) Kynance Cove for its beauty, without being suspected of disbelief in the Matterhorn. Why should one be moderate, balanced, cold in praise of Alan Breck or Catriona because they are not Rob Roy or Diana Vernon? Why imagine that such praise is an encroachment on the rights of Shakespeare or of Scott? Yet this seems to be the temper of some respectable gentlemen, professing their belief in the great writers and anxious that they should not

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suffer wrong. They are thoroughly right in not 'joining the chorus of indiscreet enthusiasm' if their opinions are other than enthusiastic; where they appear to err is in thinking that this chorus, the eager spontaneous testimony from all corners of the world, is in any sense a detraction from the established fame of greater authors. They do not see that one may be absolute and unqualified in friendship without being a partisan, without envy, without competition. One may think of Stevenson's work with intense delight in it, and yet not wish to match it against Shakespeare. On the other hand, we may resent the effort of orthodox grave criticism to bring down the reputation of Stevenson by comparing him at a disadvantage with greater authors. Find his place for him by all means in your histories of literature, allot him his ration of paragraphs, not too many, not more than for Goldsmith or Charles Lamb, but do not imagine that by reducing him in this way you have refuted him or proved that his admirers are wrong. You might as well think of refuting Dunkery Beacon with Cader Idris, or cheapening the river Jordan because it is not Abana and Pharphar. It is worth remembering, as a warning to the very reasonable and judicious and slightly disparaging critics of Stevenson, that some of Shakespeare's academic contemporaries, the Cambridge authors of the *Parnassus* plays, made use of Chaucer and Spenser to break Shakespeare's head, and burlesqued the absurd enthusiasm of his admirers. Their gibes at Shakespeare and his praisers may show that there are dangers in correct literary taste; at any rate that it is an old habit of mind which takes refuge in established authors from the annoyance of a younger writer and his followers.

There were some accidental things in Stevenson's history that have helped him in his literary fame. He wrote at a time when there were not many new writers coming forward, when 'an over faint quietness did seem to strew the house for poets' as Sidney put it in another age of expectation, which had better fulfilment than the end of the nineteenth century brought with it. There is no new writer in the eighties to place by the side of Stevenson till the appearance

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of *Plain Tales from the Hills* in 1888. There was little competitive music to interfere with the notes of his whistle, playing 'Over the Hills and far away'—the Gauger's tune—breaking the silence of the road, and naturally drawing to it everyone who was awake and within hearing. The historian may find that this was unfair, and that Stevenson was unduly overestimated because there was no one else to praise. But it is strange if we are to be the less grateful to the benefactor because the benefits were most needed when he came. We cannot escape from our own history, and we cannot help valuing in literature what was written for us in the years when we were alive, the books that came home to us wearing the fashion of our own time.

But Stevenson scarcely required this vantage of time and opportunity. He had a gift which in any circumstances would have declared itself and won him his audience. No writer ever had more of the enchantment that keeps the listeners spellbound, like those who heard the story of Ulysses, and were silent, in the shadowy halls of Alcinous. Discreetly, coolly, and judicially we may appraise the work of Stevenson, and find his personages sometimes too histrionic, his diction too nicely chosen, his narrative construction insecure. But besides this sober judgment there is another frame of mind, equally sound in its way, which listens like a three years' child and is taken captive by the manner and gesture of the story-teller quite as much as by the matter of his fable. Even the gravest and most scientific of literary historians must acknowledge as an historical fact that Stevenson had this power over the sympathies of his readers, and that whether his means and methods were fair or not, he is distinguished among all his contemporaries for his power of impressing his own moods, tastes, and tempers on the minds even of the unwilling. For some were unwilling, who afterwards became loyal and zealous followers of his genius. At first, with the early essays in the *Cornhill*, with the *Inland Voyage* and *The Donkey*, there was found to be something rather too intentional and calculated in the admirable passages, something affected and self-conscious. Sermon or story, it did not run quite free; with all its grace there was constraint and too

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much obvious purpose. That was a common opinion about the new writer, even among those who were the first to recognise him, or to follow the kindly indication given in the old *Academy* to look out for the signature 'R. L. S.' But the suspicion wore away; partly, no doubt, because the tune of his style grew familiar, but also and even more because his later work helped to give mellowness to the earlier, so that one could take up the *Inland Voyage* or *Virginibus Puerisque* and find in them something deeper and more vital than the dexterity and ingenuity which had at first appeared to be their chief or only merits.

It was some time before Stevenson was properly understood even by those who admired him; but it came about at last that those who had taken to him for his quickness and brilliance of style began to find a greater depth in his writing than they had at first supposed, and also a greater freedom. There was more strength, both of imagination and reflexion, than had at first appeared; and the style was not quite the deliberate artifice, the sleight of words, for which some readers had been inclined to dismiss, more or less patronisingly, the *Arethusa* and *Modestine*.

That Stevenson was from beginning to end of his literary work a moralist was not concealed by or from himself, though he knew also that he had the other, the nobler gift, of imagination—with or without moralising—the imagination that shone in so many diverse and incongruous ways between the construction of Billy Bones's map and the conversation of Lord Hermiston and his son.

In his earlier papers, however, it was not quite certain, at any rate to the ordinary average judgment, whether or not the reflexions and the fancies were sound, whether there was a root of reality in them, or whether they might not have been merely got up for the exigencies of a parade of words. That there was rhetorical study in Stevenson's first essays was evident on the face of them; they were, in the good old phrase, 'pleasant conceited' work, and readers detected at once, in a general sort of way, the art of phrasing which Stevenson afterwards delighted to talk about and to explain. It required some time to bring out fully his serious interest

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in the topics of life which provided his themes in the essays and other discourses; it also needed time to prove what variety there was in his imaginative work, and how little affectation or effort in his stories. He was both more serious and more frivolous than he seemed to be at first. That is what has given him his hold upon the affections of his readers; in spite of all the careful, studied methods of work, on which he was so willing to expatiate, the secret of his success was merely the incalculable versatile life of his genius, which turned with equal readiness to his Shorter Catechism on the chief end of Man, and to reminiscences of the early lamplighter seen by the child at the window. 'Will his works live?' is a question which Mr. Raleigh has shown to be rather futile. It is not necessary or profitable to calculate his chances—making allowance for the instability of human affairs, taking into account the restrictions of literary fame, putting forward again the prudent hypothesis that if his works are read by the unknown future generations they will be admired. Apart from all these uncertainties we have found out for ourselves that his works represent—in a shadowy, imperfect way, no doubt, as is the manner of all literature—a mind from which the duller phlegmatic elements were wholly excluded, and having that knowledge of his writings, we, his contemporaries, are not concerned what the next age may say about them. No writer has given through books a keener sense of wakeful, alert vitality, and this although not a little of his work shows fatigue and incompleteness. The less successful parts of his writings never kill the impression that his mind is still active, sensitive, far beyond the ordinary range. His means, his powers of expression, may fall short of his intention and ideal; his resources, the spring of invention, may fail him, as he describes in his account of the writing of *Treasure Island*, but even in his slowest work there is the spark of his peculiar incorrigible energy, a soul not to be confounded or classified in any gross summing up of human types and qualities, but always distinct, clear, active; not the mind of one of the great artists, but perhaps more spiritual; like the echoes, 'thinner, clearer, farther going'—not strong in the massive

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kinds of literature, but in freedom and grace hardly equalled by any man.

He had the gift of memory, which is sometimes dangerous for artists and for other people when they are required to live in the present. To forget the things that are behind is a lesson required in many different stages of action.

The contemplative mind to which the past is more real and valuable than present realities is in danger of falling from its dreams into lethargy. Stevenson could not forget; the things that pass away from the 'earthly memory' of the practical man, or from the mind of the more austere and impersonal sort of poet, were treasured up by him. For all his vagabond theories, his revolt against custom, his profession of adventure, he lived his whole life upon the strength of his childhood and his native ground. His father's house remained for him, all his life through, the place where his soul was buried; more intimately even than with Scott in his exile, his thoughts were knit up with the memories of his own land and home. What it all meant for him he did not explain, or only lightly and casually, in his book on Edinburgh; it comes out in the *Child's Verses* and in many incidental things in his stories, 'the seasonable East wind' at the corner of Princes Street, in the *Wrecker*, for example; while in the greatest imaginative passage he ever wrote, in *Weir of Hermiston*, the meeting of father and son on the doorstep is told with a sense of the place as penetrating as the dramatic truth of what follows. The light from the front door and the darkness of the unhomely street are as full of meaning and value to Stevenson as the dialogue; indeed the dialogue would have been impossible without this vision and recollection. In the *Child's Garden of Verses* he shows how much the past life means to him. It is not to amuse a child that these things were written; it is his own interpretation of what he remembers out of his childhood put into verse to keep it from perishing.

> But do not think you can at all
> By knocking on the window call
> That child to hear you. He intent
> Is all on his play business bent.

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He does not hear, he will not look,
Nor yet be lured out of this book.
For long ago, the truth to say,
He has grown up and gone away:
And it is but a child of air
That lingers in the garden there.

This fondness for the past is in some writers accompanied with melancholy, but not in Stevenson any more than in Wordsworth. Neither of these authors is led by memory into the sad world of regrets and dreams where nothing real seems of any worth compared with the lost hours. Stevenson's intensity of affection for the past was as great as that which is shown in the elaborate meditative work of some of Pater's imaginary portraits, but he was not drawn to that mode of representation, still less to the common vein of sentiment over our losses, or the torpor that has afflicted some generous minds unable to escape from their early sorrows. If there is anything that can be singled out and put briefly as the distinguishing quality of Stevenson, as that which is most exceptional and unlike the character even of most imaginative minds, it is the union in him of the two contrary faculties of memory and versatility. For memory in an artistic temperament very often means slowness of thought; in brooding over the past the man becomes heavy and loses his quickness of sense for superficial present things. But Stevenson kept his memory and his deep-rooted attachment to the past without any trace of melancholy; nothing of his easy grace was benumbed by the past; on the contrary, his reminiscences were so constantly with him, so vivid, so much a part of himself, that they were felt no more than the weight of the air. They were the chief element in his strength, and they add something to the most frivolous parts of his writings. So loyal in some ways, and yet so free, there was no one who ever went beyond him in the union of truth and levity.

It is impossible to make out Stevenson's mind if the child's play and the moralizings are separated, or if the moralities and the stronger imagination are kept in distinct boxes for the critic to label severally. No doubt he had many different occupations and tastes in literature, and some of them were at times

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a perplexity to his friends. One reader would refuse the essays and accept the *Cream Tarts*; another took all the preaching greedily and thought nothing of the *Black Arrow*, though Mr. Raleigh has extracted from that undervalued work a most characteristic piece of Stevenson's morality. Stevenson himself has described in his own way the hesitations of a serious student over *Treasure Island*.

'Arrived at my destination, down I sat one morning to the unfinished tale; and behold! it flowed from me like small talk; and in a second tide of delighted industry, and again at the rate of a chapter a day, I finished *Treasure Island*. It had to be transcribed almost exactly; my wife was ill; the schoolboy remained alone of the faithful; and John Addington Symonds (to whom I timidly mentioned what I was engaged in) looked on me askance. He was at that time very eager I should write on the *Characters* of Theophrastus: so far out may be the judgments of the wisest men.

Was it wrong then to ask for Stevenson's views about Theophrastus? Were not Theophrastus and he in the same trade? It was a worse error of judgment not to want Stevenson's opinion about Hazlitt, which it is said was declined by an eminent literary man. Stevenson could have written very properly about Theophrastus, and might have drawn out the humours of the *Nicomachean Ethics* to be ranged along with his Villon and John Knox. He had that sort of taste, though he might sometimes dissemble. If there is to be any criticism of his work, besides what he has given himself, it must take into account pretty fully the differences of intention and vehicle such as Stevenson himself has explained—for example, in the paper just quoted, where he speaks of the difference in style between *Treasure Island* and the almost contemporary *Merry Men*.

With all the differences, as great as that between his pirates and his unwritten commentary on Theophrastus, it is still not hard for an unprejudiced person to understand his works, though some have made difficulties over *Prince Otto*, and others have been gravelled by the South Sea Islands and their history. It is the same author all through, though he

[1] *My First Book.*

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may be writing sermons one hour and the next cutting out cardboard figures for a child's toy theatre. As the chief text of his sermons is to explain that both occupations are reasonable, there is nothing to be surprised at in his practice, and nothing much left for any succeeding moralist to say about it. But it is possible to test his theories of life and art as he has stated and exemplified them ; if they are worth anything they deserve no less than the severest trial.

'Moralist' is a term that has suffered along with 'preacher,' 'sermon,' 'professor,' and some others. It calls up 'the budge doctors of the Stoic fur' and the philosopher who could not endure the toothache. Seneca has been long discredited. Even Montaigne, who might have been trusted to keep up the reputation of the order, even Pascal and La Rochefoucauld have somehow lost their authority. Though 'their works live' they do not count for much in ordinary literary estimates. The moralist ought not to be known as such ; it suggests an inglorious comfortable life, spent in making remarks on things in general, some degrees removed from reality. If moralist, then not historian ; not novelist, dramatist, painter ; not scientific ; not anything that requires pains or special ability ; that seems to be the usual inference from the name. But there is some injustice in this, as in all class judgments, and Montaigne is not the only moralist, though he is the greatest, who has drawn direct from life, with as little unverified commonplace as may be. Stevenson is a preacher in the same sense as Montaigne, and not like Seneca ; that is to say, his motive is not the love of preaching (though that may count for something), but original genuine ineradicable interest in the subject itself, which is human nature, and human nature as known to the observer, and therefore different from all the abstract theories of it distilled by previous operators. How true he is was concealed at first by the pretensions of his style, and by various mischievous diversions, but it is the secret of all his work that he has this hold upon actuality, that no abstractions get in his way, that he knows what he is talking about. Hence, because his thinking is imaginative, or mainly through particular recollections of experience (which comes to much the same thing), it has discoveries in it, not

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like the common moralist's piecing together of general laws. The differences are what matter to him, as Shelley had put it before in a moral essay,[1] not the resemblances which go to make the commonplace rules of life. Hence again the agreement between the moralist and the dramatist in his writings. It is not that Stevenson as moralist works in one way, and Stevenson as inventor of personages in another—the moralist by means of formulas, the inventor by imaginative vision. Here the reflective moralist and the imaginative writer of stories draw from the same kind of experience—namely, the author's own life, memory, observation, in which even generalities and the merest truisms are clothed with bodily life—as different from ordinary sermons as Hamlet's thoughts about mortality are from those of Mr. Justice Shallow, though both these moralists are right, and both have the same important thought in their minds. *Pulvis et Umbra* is a commonplace, yet can it be said that Stevenson's sermon on this old text has anything in it not verified by the author for himself, as part of the theory in which he has grown up? Though theory is a meagre name for his intuition of the life of the universe, put forward in the capricious manner which was his habit:

'Of all earth's meteors, here at least is the most strange and consoling: that this ennobled lemur, this hair-crowned bubble of the dust, the inheritor of a few years and sorrows, should yet deny himself his rare delights and add to his frequent pains, and live for an ideal, however misconceived. Nor can we stop with man. A new doctrine, received with screams a little while ago by canting moralists, and still not properly worked into the body of our thoughts, lights us a step farther into the heart of this rough but noble universe. For nowadays the pride of man denies in vain his kinship with the original dust. He stands no longer like a thing apart. Close at his heels we see the dog, prince of another genus: and in him too we see doubly testified the same cultus of an unattainable ideal, the same constancy in failure. Does it stop with the dog?

[1] 'We consider our own nature too superficially. We look on all that in ourselves with which we can discover a resemblance in others, and consider those resemblances as the materials of moral knowledge. It is in the differences that it actually consists.' Shelley, *Essays*, i. p. 271–2 (1840).

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We look at our feet where the ground is blackened with the swarming ant: a creature so small, so far from us in the hierarchy of brutes, that we can scarce trace and scarce comprehend his doings; and here also, in his ordered politics and rigorous justice, we see confessed the law of duty and the fact of individual sin. Does it stop, then, with the ant? Rather this desire of well-doing and this doom of frailty run through all the grades of life: rather is this earth, from the frosty top of Everest to the next margin of the internal fire, one stage of ineffectual virtues and one temple of pious tears and perseverance. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together.'

To quote from this sermon and detach a piece from its context is not the way to represent the whole argument fairly; but this passage at any rate says what Stevenson really means. He is a free thinker, in the right sense of the word, and if he professes no orthodoxy he has at least determined with himself to say nothing that he has not found true, with the truth of imaginative vision. His 'Essay on Man' is not put together out of fashionable tags of optimism; it has been tested, if not scientifically, at any rate in the writer's consciousness. Stevenson writes what he has found out for himself, though he does not confine himself to what he is able to prove. That his judgment is always right we need not try to maintain; in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* there is felt to be something fallacious about the moral; the butchery at the end of the *Wrecker* attempts to justify itself and does not succeed. But the truth and vigour of his criticism of life are not impaired by any of these incidental failures. The Letters show that the courageous theory of the light heart which he preached in his essays—*Virginibus puerisque*—was not something adopted, but simply his natural behaviour. It was proved somewhat severely in the winter in San Francisco—for instance, in the humorous account of his way of life in a letter to Mr. Sidney Colvin, January 10, 1880:

'His next appearance is at the restaurant of one Donadieu, in Bush Street, between Dupont and Kearney, where a copious meal, half a bottle of wine, coffee, and brandy may be procured for the sum of four bits, *alias* 50 cents., £0 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling. The wine is put down in a whole bottleful, and it is strange and painful to

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observe the greed with which the gentleman in question seeks to secure the last drop of his allotted half, the scrupulousness with which he seeks to avoid taking the first drop of the other. This is partly explained by the fact that if he were to go over the mark, bang would go a tenpence. He is again armed with a book, but his best friends will learn with pain that he seems at this hour to have deserted the more serious studies of the morning.' [Benjamin Franklin was the morning author.] 'When last observed he was studying with apparent zest the exploits of one Rocambole, by the late Viscomte Ponson du Terrail. This work, originally of prodigious dimensions, he had cut into liths or thicknesses, apparently for convenience of carriage.'

'Then the being walks; where is not certain. But by about half-past four, a light beams from the windows of 608 Bush, and he may be observed sometimes engaged in correspondence, sometimes once again plunged in the mysterious rites of the forenoon. About six he returns to the Branch Original, where he once more imbrues himself to the worth of fivepence in coffee and roll. The evening is devoted to writing and reading, and by eleven or half-past darkness closes over this weird and truculent existence.'

That was written at a time when he was being pretty severely tried; he had no money, his health was breaking down, and his friends, he remarks, 'seem to think my work rather bosh nowadays.' The only thing in the letter that confesses the strain is this sentence: 'I have to ask you frankly, when you write, to give me any good news you can, and chat a little, but *just in the meantime* give me no bad.'

The *Life* and the *Letters* tell much about Stevenson's policy in literature, though not much that is essentially new, or different from his own published theories of the art of writing. The most distinct additions are his remarks to Mr. Balfour about the three classes of story, traced from their beginnings in the first rise of an idea in the author's mind, and the letter to R. A. M. Stevenson on Realism, which goes near to the centre:

'These temples of art are, as you say, inaccessible to the realistic climber. It is not by looking at the sea that you get

"The multitudinous seas incarnadine,"

nor by looking at Mont Blanc that you find

"And visited all night by troops of stars."

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'A kind of ardour of the blood is the mother of all this; and according as this ardour is swayed by knowledge and seconded by craft, the art expression flows clear, and significance and charm, like a moon rising, are born above the barren juggle of mere symbols.'

The conversation with Mr. Balfour shows how impressions sank into Stevenson's mind, and how they were translated by him:

'Again there was the question of what should be taken next. It so happened one afternoon at Vailima that I was the only person available, and Louis carried me off to debate the claims of two stories which he then unfolded, *Sophia Scarlet* and what afterwards became *Weir of Hermiston*. Either on that day or about that time I remember very distinctly his saying to me: "There are, so far as I know, three ways, and three ways only, of writing a story. You may take a plot and fit characters to it, or you may take a character and choose incidents and situations to develop it; or, lastly—you must bear with me while I try to make this clear"—(here he made a gesture with his hand as if he were trying to shape something and give it outline and form)—"you may take a certain atmosphere and get actions and persons to express and realise it. I'll give you an example—*The Merry Men*. There I began with the feeling of one of those islands on the west coast of Scotland, and I gradually developed the story to express the sentiment with which the coast affected me."'[1]

Stevenson was so fond of talking about the workshop, and explaining the processes, that his readers are sometimes apt to think they know how it is all done, and possibly their estimate of his substantial work has suffered in consequence. Against the advice of some of the great novelists he has 'told us his opinion,' so that it is difficult to come to his stories with the mind disengaged. The audience is drawn to the show by the persuasion of Stevenson's own personal opinions and fancies, apart from those that belong to the characters on the stage. He never quite succeeded in the stronger sort of imagination, at least if it is success to be impersonal, to let the characters walk free, to leave the artist and his methods undetected and not thought of. It is impossible to read him without thinking of his designs and of

[1] *Life*, ii. pp. 141–2.

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the literary processes at the back of the scene; he has shown us too much sport of this sort to escape observation. But for all that there are characters and dialogues that refuse to be explained away as mere illustrations of the author's views. The quarrel and reconciliation of Alan Breck and David Balfour is, we can see, from the life, like the account of David's weariness, in which the quarrel begins. But this is not simply notes of a case of bad temper between friends, a direct transcription of something in Stevenson's memory; it has been carried by the 'ardour of the blood' beyond the line that separates description from drama. If the characters are not always at this pitch of vitality, if there is a fluctuation in them between scenes where they speak true, and scenes where they merely repeat phrases, they share this, after all, with the characters of much stronger dramatists, even with Hamlet and King Lear. Only in Stevenson's work, as the scale is smaller and the phrasing careful, there is more of a disproportion between the great scenes and those that are less vivid. It is possible to find fault with his compositions, on technical grounds; it is obvious, for instance, that the *Wrecker* does not keep up its interest when it gets to the explanation; it breaks in two; and there is a similar fault, but a more serious one, in the *Master of Ballantrae*. For there Stevenson has a sound conception of a character under stress—namely, Henry, the Master's brother—which he does not take space enough to carry out. The broken will of Henry after the duel, the tragedy of his decline, ought not, one feels, to have been treated in this way; the subject is too difficult for the general temper of the story; there is discord between this and the humours of Chevalier Burke. The story breaks down after the duel in the night. After the duel, the great crisis, there are really two new beginnings; the after fortunes of the Master and his brother go in different lines; the tragedy of Henry is a theme by itself, requiring one kind of treatment, the romance of the Master's wanderings is another, and neither receives its proper measure. Stevenson had not the power of large and free construction, nor the steadiness of view which gives strength, for instance, to such a book as Mr. Hardy's *Woodlanders*, or in a different

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way to Mr. George Meredith's *One of Our Conquerors*, a book as masterly in general design as it is perplexing and intricate in its details. But those critics who have found fault with the *Master* and the *Wrecker* might in justice acknowledge the merits of *Prince Otto* in this respect, not to speak of the less ambitious completeness and elegance of the *Rajah's Diamond*, and most of the shorter stories.

Stevenson's ideal of style led him sometimes to depreciate unduly the writers who are inattentive to the value of single words while they are engaged in some larger kind of operation. Scott, particularly, was somewhat unjustly treated in the paper on 'Romance' in *Memories and Portraits*. Stevenson, while pointing out technical defects in Scott's language, did not allow enough for the freedom of his style, for the fluent narrative that disregards single words but can do great things with common hackneyed English. He had not himself the freedom that takes Scott easily without a check over pages and paragraphs; his travels want the looselimbed careless gait of Lavengro. To read Borrow in the light of Stevenson is no wrong to either, but it brings out a curious and essential difference of mind. Borrow has no taste for the fine things that mean so much to Stevenson. The difference comes out, of course, in the descriptive passages, not in the dialogue; where Scott, Borrow, and Stevenson are writing down other people's talk they come on to the same ground, and the difference between the careless and the sensitive artist disappears. The great things in drama are not done with ornamental words; they get beyond the rhythms and elegancies taught in the schools of rhetoric. Stevenson knew how people talked and could report them accurately, sometimes with tremendous effect, as in the sayings of Lord Hermiston; sometimes merely for fun, as in the idiomatic discourse of Mr. Pegfurth Bannatyne.[1]

As with Fielding and Thackeray, and many quick-witted authors, his style derives much from a taste for parody, which is a good preventive of stiffness, heaviness and mannerism, and keeps the author from thinking too much of his own private stock of accomplishments. Stevenson is, perhaps,

[1] *Letters*, i. p. 243.

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never so unconstrained as when he has some literary joke in his mind, like the whole conception of his *New Arabian Nights*, where half the fun is in the solemn eighteenth-century grammar.

'"And when you speak of care," pursued Zero, "in this age of scientific studies, you fill me with surprise. Are you not aware that chemicals are proverbially fickle as woman, and clockwork capricious as the very devil? Do you see upon my brow these furrows of anxiety? do you observe the silver threads that mingle with my hair? Clockwork, clockwork has stamped them on my brow; chemicals have sprinkled them upon my locks! No, Mr. Somerset," he resumed, after a moment's pause, his voice still quivering with sensibility, "you must not suppose the dynamiter's life to be all gold."'

In some of his *Fables*, not printed till after his death, Stevenson invented or reproduced some very beautiful effects of prose style, fanciful, unprosaic, yet not trespassing beyond the right borders of prose. It was an old habit of the Romantic Schools—perhaps induced by Ossian—to use a chaunting kind of prose for fairy legends and other unworldly matters. Stevenson's *Song of the Morrow*, unlike anything else he ever wrote, as Mr. Balfour remarks, is the finest thing he ever wrote, for pure beauty of phrase, pure melody:

'And the King's daughter of Duntrine got her to that part of the beach where strange things had been done in the ancient ages; and there she sat her down. The sea foam ran to her feet, and the dead leaves swarmed about her back, and the veil blew about her face in the blowing of the wind. And when she lifted up her eyes there was the daughter of a King come walking on the beach. Her hair was like the spun gold, and her eyes like pools in a river, and she had no thought for the morrow and no power upon the hour, after the manner of simple men.'

In this, and in the *Poor Thing*, Stevenson had gone back to a region 'where his youthful feet wandered,' the Morven, not of Ossian, but of Norman Macleod's *Highland Parish*, in which he had picked up the verse that rang in his ears in California—

'From the dim shieling in the misty island,'

and where, in his early reading, he had found one of the West Highland legendary tales, with more of a romantic

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pathos and morality in it than the authentic versions of Campbell, but all the more captivating for that reason. It is another of Stevenson's achievements that he should have found it still possible to use a mode of fancy which had been discredited and supposed to be outworn, the fairy story with a meaning in it, or the allegory in terms of a fairy tale. The best of it is that the pathos in these *Fables* is right, the story a new discovery. At first it may look like the revival of a bygone fashion. It is more than that, though many old influences, besides the winds of Morven and Appin, have gone to the making of it.

Another kind of pathos with the same kind of moral had been expressed before in *Will o' the Mill*; if not a great work, yet one that seems to have more of the heart of the author in it than his other stories. It is the opposite of his favourite character; Will o' the Mill is the slow unimpassioned mind that will not venture away from home. But his ambition is Stevenson's; he feels the compulsion to go out into the world, though he does not follow it, and the author, who had so different a life of his own, 'cast out upon the utmost islands,' knew the same bondage to the place of his upbringing, though he was not held inactive by it; like Will, at the end, his mind is 'besieged with tumultuous and crying memories.' The story is not merely a parable of 'the untrimmed lamp and the ungirt loin,' but of the mystery of Time and Death, which is the same to Will o' the Mill and to the most adventurous traveller.

The requiem—

'Under the wide and starry sky'

is in one's mind in thinking over Stevenson's life and wanderings—one of the poems which seem to have everything in them, one of the miracles of poetry. He makes little himself of his poetic ambition, though, perhaps, it was more to him than he confessed. His pleasant absorption in the old French verse of Charles of Orleans was not mere critical interest. The essay on Charles of Orleans is not an historical or a moral essay like the *Pepys* or the *Thoreau*; it is salvage from

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a wrecked enterprise; Stevenson had set out to make something of the old French poetic forms, ballade and rondeau, and when he failed he made what he could, in prose, out of his studies. His Scottish verse is mainly amusement. It includes some excellent pictorial work, in the sound old tradition, like the *Lowden Sabbath Morn*; and the satirical examples of the older school, the old types followed by Fergusson and Burns, are not forgotten. One poem in this group is less conventional and more direct:

'A mile an' a bittock, a mile or twa,
Abune the burn, ayont the law,
Davie an' Donal' an' Charlie an' a',
An' the mune was shinin' clearly.

. . . . .

A win' got up frae affa the sea,
It blew the stars as clear's could be,
It blew in the een of a' o' the three,
An' the mune was shinin' clearly.'

Also there is much life as well as good sense in the *Spaewife*—

'"It's gey an' easy spierin'," says the beggar-wife to me.'

But generally there is less constraint in the poems that are not written in Scots—which has become a more or less conventional literary language, as Stevenson has explained.

It is hard to see why one should not praise Stevenson's verse. Much of it is imitative, of course, but what modern verse is not? His blank verse, small in amount, has its own distinct quality—nearer to Landor in its gravity and simplicity than most contemporary poetry.

'That, that was not Apollo, not the god.
This was not Venus, though she Venus seemed
A moment. And though fair yon river move,
She, all the way from disenchanted fount
To seas unhallowed runs; the gods forsook
Long since her trembling rushes; from her plains
Disconsolate, long since adventure fled;
And now although the inviting river flows,

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And every poplared cape, and every bend
Or willowy islet, win upon thy soul
And to thy hopeful shallop whisper speed;
Yet hope not thou at all; hope is no more;
And O, long since the golden groves are dead,
The faery cities vanished from the land!'

The short couplets have often the character of Marvell's, especially in the poem of *Woodman*, which is all 'conceits,' by a metaphysical poet. More original in tone, and one of the best of all the poems, suggested, no doubt, by Wordsworth, is *The House Beautiful*:

Yet shall your ragged moor receive
The incomparable pomp of eve,
And the cold glories of the dawn
Behind your shivering trees be drawn;
And when the wind from place to place
Doth the unmoored cloud-galleons chase
Your garden gloom and gleam again
With leaping sun, with glancing rain.
Here shall the wizard moon ascend
The heavens, in the crimson end
Of day's declining splendour; here
The army of the stars appear. . . .

Most of his poems are rather reflective or recitative than lyrical, but there are some among them that are nothing if not true songs.

Where those who knew him have praised him so well there is not much need for those at a distance to say more. In criticism there may be more to be said, but hardly at present. 'Will his works live?' It is a foolish question, but it recurs naturally in talk about an author who knew what ambition was, and thought of the fate of writings:

Bright is the ring of words
When the right man rings them,
Fair the fate of songs
When the singer sings them.
Still they are carolled and said—
On wings they are carried—
After the singer is dead
And the maker buried.

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Remembered or forgotten, his name and his works take with them, to the House of Fame or to the land of oblivion, the gratitude of a large number of his contemporaries, who, whatever they may think of the value of literary reputations, at any rate believe, for the present, in the reality of their own lives. They know, for themselves, how much they are indebted to the writer whom they have long accompanied so happily.

ART. IX.—ECCLESIASTICUS: THE NEWLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS.

1. *Facsimiles of the Fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Cambridge: University Press, 1901.)
2. *L'Ecclésiastique, ou la Sagesse de Jésus, fils de Sira.* Texte original hébreu, édité, traduit et commenté par ISRAEL LÉVI. II. (Paris: Leroux, 1901.)

THE discovery of a lost Hebrew text dating from about 200 B.C. is an event of some importance to the philologist as well as to the theologian. So great a distance separates the language of the Mishna from the classical Hebrew of the latest canonical books that anything which helps to bridge over the gap deserves the most careful attention from every point of view. There is no need to re-tell here the almost romantic story of the recovery of the original text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. It is enough to say that, piece by piece, the work has been put together out of the *débris* brought from the lumber-room of a synagogue in Cairo, until we now have about three-quarters of the book before us in facsimile and in a carefully edited text. In considering the subject two main questions at once suggest themselves. Is this the original of the Book of Jesus the son of Sirach? and if so, what relation does it bear to the canonical books of the Bible? Since the publication of the first leaf of the Hebrew by Schechter in the *Expositor* for July 1896, a mass of literature has appeared, and more will no doubt be forth-

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coming before these points are finally settled. It may be useful, perhaps, to state such results as have so far been attained, and to indicate the lines upon which investigation should proceed.

Hitherto our knowledge of the book has been derived from two primary versions, the Greek and the Syriac, of which the former might naturally be expected, from the circumstances of its composition, to carry the greater weight. In his prologue the Greek translator says (to quote from the R. V.):

'For having come into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth year of Euergetes the king, and having continued there some time, I found a copy affording no small instruction. I thought it, therefore, most necessary for me to apply some diligence and travail to interpret this book; applying, indeed, much watchfulness and skill in that space of time to bring the book to an end. . . .'

He also says that the original was in Hebrew, and that it was written by ὁ πάππος μου. The precise meaning of much of the prologue is extremely doubtful, but it is generally agreed (and the point need not be discussed here) that the 38th year of Euergetes (II.) is 132 B.C. If then πάππος means 'grandfather,' we may put the original composition at about 200 B.C. This so far agrees with other facts that there is no need to question its general correctness. The Hebrew original shows clearly enough through the Greek, in the parallelism, in the idioms, in the mistranslations. With regard to the date, we find that the 'praise of famous men' ends with Simon the son of Onias in chapter l. The author had evidently seen him

'As the morning star in the midst of a cloud,
As the moon at the full,'

and speaks of him with a sincerity and feeling which does not appear in his 'praise' of Zerubbabel or Nehemiah. This is quite in agreement with the proposed date if we take the person in question to be Simon II., who died early in the second century B.C.

Now it might reasonably be expected that a translator living so near the time of the author would fully understand

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that author's language and be able to give at least an accurate reproduction of his work. Yet what do we find? Though often fairly successful, the Greek sometimes makes nonsense, sometimes will hardly translate at all, and frequently appears to have misread or misunderstood the Hebrew. In many cases these defects can be rectified by a comparison of the other primary version, the Syriac, which is sometimes clearly right where G[1] is clearly wrong. For example, in the well-known passage, xxiv. 27, G has 'that maketh instruction to shine forth ὡς φῶς,' S 'as the river,' from which it was long ago recognized that H must have had כיאור 'as the river' (properly the Nile) which G misread כאור 'as the light.' In other cases S is wrong where G is right, and in other cases again both seem to be wrong, or differ so much that we can only suppose them to go back to different originals. The question of the ultimate text is thus sufficiently complicated, but it becomes yet more so when we examine the newly discovered Hebrew. Instead of invariably harmonizing the differences of S and G, we find H agreeing here with G, there with S, sometimes with neither, and, strangest of all, sometimes with *both*. It is evident from these three witnesses, H, G, S, alone, that the book has suffered from more than ordinary confusion. How are we to account for this confusion?

More than one scholar of eminence has cut the knot by maintaining that our Hebrew text is not the original. Professor D. S. Margoliouth[2] argued that it is a mediæval re-translation from the Greek through the medium of a Persian version. He would thus explain (to take a favourable instance) the divergence in xliii. 13, where G has 'snow' and H has 'lightning.' According to this theory, the Greek word was translated by the Persian برف ('snow'), which the Hebrew translator misread as برق, the Arabic for 'lightning,'

[1] G, S, H are used here for the Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew respectively.

[2] In his pamphlet *The Origin of 'the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus'* (Oxford, 1899), a discussion of the fragments published by Cowley and Neubauer (Oxford, 1897). It has been answered by Professor E. König.

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which might be used in Persian. This may serve as an indication of the method followed, for it would be impossible here to give the Professor's arguments in full, and unfair to give them only in part. But the inherent improbability of the view is manifest. If it were valid, it would have to explain all or nearly all the difficulties of H by shewing that they rest either on a mistranslation of G into Persian or on a mistranslation of the Persian into Hebrew. But it is very far from doing this, and, even where it does seem to explain, the evidence is not so convincing that it may not be due to mere coincidence. For instance, in xliii. 13, other explanations are possible: ברק may be the right reading, for it suits the context very well, and *χιόνα* may be a mistake of the Greek translator who read ברד. Or here is another suggestion: this manuscript exhibits an unusual number of cases in which letters have been transposed, the error being frequently either corrected or committed in the margin, *e.g.* xl. 3, לשוב, corrected in margin to לובש; xlii. 17[d], ודתו, margin [תו]רד. Now in xliii. 20[b], the Hebrew has 'and congealeth his spring כרקב like rottenness,' where G has 'and the ice shall be congealed on the water.' Is it possible that רקב possesses the hitherto unknown meaning of 'ice' or 'frost,' and that ברק in xliii. 13 is simply a transposition of it, or that some other word for 'ice' underlies both? In either of these cases G would be right, and H would be suffering from ordinary textual corruption. Or, again, the true reading in xliii. 13 may be ברד (cf. xxxii. 10 H), in which case there is nothing to reconcile. Without wishing to press any of these explanations, it may be said that the Persian theory is not the only one to account for the facts, that it will only become probable when it is shown to account for a large proportion of the difficulties, and that until this is done it is better to keep to more ordinary methods. Again, we cannot suppose that Professor Margoliouth thinks that the Hebrew was written down from an oral Persian translation. Its frequent literary merit, and often close agreement with the Greek, put that out of the question. The argument, too, from برف and برق in xliii. 13, requires a written text in which ف and ق could be confused. No doubt, if the Persian had been written

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by a Jew, it would have been in Hebrew characters, in which ה and ך are not very much alike; and if it had been written by a Persian in the native character, the Jewish Hebrew translator would probably not have been able to read it. But, putting that aside, no such version is known to have existed in the Middle Ages. Among the books belonging to the Jews in Persia at the present time [1] there is no trace of it, while the Hebrew book seems to have been known to them as late as the fourteenth century.[2] The *onus probandi* rests with the propounder of this ingenious theory. Until he can show some trace of the supposed Persian version, we are at liberty to doubt its existence, and therewith the validity of the hypothesis. To follow all the consequences of this view would take a volume. For example, Rabbi Saadiah, the great Gaon or Prince in Israel, who lived at Baghdad (among Persian Jews) in the tenth century, in his *Sepher hag-galui* makes Hebrew quotations from Ben Sira which occur *verbatim et literatim* in our texts. Now the Gaon was a very learned man, and if he quoted a work as original, the probability is that he is right. He was engaged at the time in a rather serious controversy, when people are usually careful. Under ordinary circumstances this would be regarded as sufficient testimony to the character of our book. So the Professor, as he is logically bound to do, impugns the genuineness of the *Sepher hag-galui*. He will not allow that Saadiah wrote it, or that the quotations are from the original of Ben Sira, although he admits that it belongs to the tenth century. Can we believe that at that time some person unknown was playing off a feeble and elaborate joke by quoting his own or someone's re-translation as the original work of Ben Sira? People surely did not waste their time in pointless and ineffective trivialities in times of such stress as produced the *Sepher hag-galui*. After following all the intricacies of the Professor's reasoning, one may well ask in despair, What then is truth? Are there any canons of literary criticism?

Rejecting the Persian theory, then, it remains to consider briefly the question of re-translation in general, as maintained.

[1] See Adler's list in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, x. p. 584 *sqq.*

[2] See Bacher in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xi. p. 344.

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by Professor Bickell, and formerly by Mr. I. Lévi. If the work is a re-translation it must have been made from one or other of the early versions; early, because the very manuscripts in which it is found can hardly be later than the eleventh century. It must be admitted that at present little is known of Hebrew palæography; but, after comparing the fragments with dated manuscripts found in the same place, and considering the condition and character of the paper, as well as the style of the writing, competent judges agree on this date. The early versions are the Greek, the Syriac, the Latin, the Coptic, and the Armenian. Of these the last three are derived from the Greek, and are, moreover, unlikely to have been used by a Hebrew translator. We have, therefore, to consider whether H can have been translated from G or S. The latter is hardly possible, since, as everyone knows, it has numerous lacunæ, large sections of H being unrepresented in S. Neither is it based on G, nor on a conflation of the two. Its correspondence with both versions varies almost from line to line, in a manner quite foreign to mediaeval translators, who were far from being literary critics. Sometimes it agrees closely with G; at other times it has passages which could not have been derived from either version; and again, it has lines which are entirely unrepresented in either. The most striking instance of the third kind is the psalm found in H after li. 12, where G and S have nothing of the kind. The passage raises some most interesting questions, which are ably discussed by Mr. Lévi in his Introduction (pp. xlvii *sqq.*). If our text be a re-translation, never was such a piece of work seen before. At one time it clears up obscurities in the versions, while at another it is plain that the versions have misunderstood the Hebrew. It gives a clue to divergences between the versions, often such as the most ingenious translator could not have found, even if we credit him with a knowledge of both Greek and Syriac, and it uses words which could not have been suggested by the versions. To mention a few instances at random:—in xl. 1, G ἔκτισται, H חלק, instead of the obvious, common word ברא, *create*, which S actually has. Nothing is gained by arguing from this that the translator spoke Arabic, and this is an Arabism. Why

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should he coin a new Hebrew word when ברא must have been thoroughly familiar to him if he knew any Hebrew at all? Or if it means 'allotted,' why should he so translate ἔκτισται? In xliii. 8 G says the month is called after the moon, obviously one would think a play on יָרֵחַ, *month*, and יָרֵחַ, *moon*, as Fritzsche points out. But H, which, it is true, is corrupt here, has a play on the root חדש. The month (חֹדֶשׁ) is according to its own name, and is renewed (מִתְחַדֵּשׁ), but *moon* being masculine in Hebrew, G has taken the phrase to mean *κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σελήνης*. In xii. 5[e], as Mr. Lévi points out (p. xlii), G has 'keep back his bread and give it not to him'; S has 'weapons of war give not to him'; H has בלי לחם אל תתן לו. Here S is right, and G has made a double mistake, reading בלי, *weapons*, as though it were בלא, *keep back*, and לֶחֶם, *battle*, as לָחֶם, *bread*. Can it be supposed that if the translator had been using the Syriac he would have chosen this rare word for *battle* (it occurs once, in Judges v. 8), or that he purposely devised this means of conciliating the two versions? In xxxii. 21[b], G has 'and beware of thine own children'; S has 'and take heed to thy paths.' Here G is evidently wrong. S *may* be right. H has ובאחריתך השמר. G takes אחרית (*that which comes after*) to mean *descendants*, *children*: S reads ובאורחותיך. G's mistake is intelligible if not intelligent, but the converse is impossible, for, as Mr. Lévi points out (p. xliii.), no mediæval Jew would ever dream of translating *τέκνων* by אחריתך. It would be easy to multiply instances of the kind which cannot be explained on the theory of a re-translation, but become clear enough if H is the original text. Again, the style is not that of a translation. If some of it is crabbed and obscure, much of it is excellent Hebrew with a character of its own, with the swing or easy flow of an original composition, and that by an author who was no mean master of his art. Let anyone compare, say, chapter xliv. or chapter l., with such a work as the Hebrew *Yosippon*, or the mediæval translations of the Ibn Tibbons, and he will see that the style is totally different. In fact, there is no reason why the supposed translator should not have produced a much closer, less vigorous, and less characteristic imitation of Biblical Hebrew.

One more point and the re-translation theory may be

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dismissed. The Hebrew text is contained in fragments of four different manuscripts, marked A, B, C, D.[1] in the excellent facsimiles published by the University Presses. The most interesting of them is B. It has been collated by a former owner with one or perhaps two other manuscripts, and the variants are written on the margin. This has been done with the greatest care, not only the better readings being noted, but also inferior variants and even minute differences of spelling which do not affect the sense. These marginal readings cannot be alternative renderings jotted down by the translator, as Professor Margoliouth suggests, for that theory will not account for the numerous instances in which a slight variation of form makes sense in the margin out of nonsense in the text, and *vice versa*. They are, in fact, just such notes as would be made by a careful collator. If any doubt were possible it is removed by express statements of the collator himself. These are in Jewish Persian, a fact which no doubt first suggested his hypothesis to Professor Margoliouth. Those on the margin of xxxii. 1 and xxxv. 20, though not altogether clear, certainly speak of 'other copies' which contained passages missing in the manuscript before the scribe. That on xlv. 9 says 'this manuscript was as far as here,'[2] which can only mean that he is copying or collating an incomplete manuscript which stops at this point. Moreover, in xxxvi. 24–xxxviii. 1, the text of which is found in both B and D, the marginal variants of B appear in the text of D. There can be no longer any doubt that the variants represent a collation with another manuscript or manuscripts. There is thus clear proof of the existence of at least five

[1] Unfortunately, some confusion is caused by the fact that in Mr. Lévi's edition C is called D, and D is called C.

[2] Professor Bevan's correction תא אירד, for תא אורד of the Oxford editors, is unquestionably right. The other two Persian notes quoted speak of 'this פסוק' as being imported into the copy from other manuscripts. Properly פסוק means a single verse. Can it be used here for the whole section (פיסקא) xxxii.–xxxv., and has this omission something to do with the dislocation of xxx.–xxxvi. in the manuscripts of the Greek version? It is noticeable that xxxvi. in the Hebrew is headed פ, which seems to mark a new section, and may stand for פסוק, or, as Mr. Lévi suggests, פיסקא.

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manuscripts of the text at about the same date, not to mention the copies from which they were derived, or R. Saadiah's copy, which, he says, had vowel-points and accents. It is impossible to believe that a translation would have been so frequently re-copied, that its text would have become so corrupt and been so carefully collated, within a century of its composition. We are therefore compelled to accept, with all its difficulties, the only alternative—namely, that the text is substantially the original work of Ben Sira. Probably when it eventually reached Cairo it was a composite volume made up of fragments from the eleventh century and earlier, of different shapes and sizes, and, falling on times when literature was rather neglected, soon found its way with other 'useless' worn-out books to the Geniza until its resurrection in this age of literary discoveries.

The difficulties of this view are classed by Mr. Lévi under four heads:—(1) The hymn at the end of the book was long ago shown by Professor Bickell, judging from the Syriac version, to have been alphabetic in the original. When we turn to H, however, we find that in the first half the alphabetical order is no longer recognizable, and even in the latter part (ל to ת) it is very much obscured. Now, if the scribe was copying from an original which preserved the alphabetic acrostic, it is improbable (though not impossible) that he would have failed to notice it, but it is almost impossible that he should have reduced the text to its present state of confusion. It might be argued that the present form is due to progressive corruption, as in the case of certain alphabetic Psalms, but when we find that H, precisely where it departs from the alphabetical order, is in close agreement with S as against G, and that difficulties in H find their solution in S, it becomes at least highly probable that the hymn has been translated from Syriac into Hebrew. (2) The numerous doublets, *i.e.* passages in which the same thought is repeated in successive verses with some slight modifications. For example, in the passage xxxii. 21 mentioned above, after, the Hebrew verse from which G is derived, we read again 'Be not confident in the way of the wicked and have a care to thy paths,' as in S. The former must be the original.

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There are only two possible explanations of the repetition: either the scribe had before him two manuscripts of different recensions and, where they differed, copied both forms of the passage; or one form (here the latter) is re-translated from a version (here S). (3) Passages other than doublets, which appear from their idiom to be influenced by S, and are unintelligible except on that supposition. (4) Various marks of lateness in the language, such as Rabbinical forms and idioms. If some strong reasons were shown above for accepting the *substantial* originality of H, an explanation of these difficulties must be sought. Mr. Lévi finds it in a compromise between the two extreme views. He holds that while the bulk of the text contained in manuscripts A and B is the original work of Ben Sira, these particular manuscripts have been at one time or another corrected and interpolated by re-translations from S. He contends further that the late forms and expressions, and many of the defects of style, are found in these glosses, which can thus be detected and separated from the genuine text. It is impossible to accept or reject this solution in full without first weighing each several case on its own merits. There is undoubtedly much truth in Mr. Lévi's view. Many passages can be satisfactorily explained by it, and there is nothing improbable in the theory of a Jew translating from Syriac, say, in the sixth century; but on the other hand there are passages, evidently corrupt in some way, for which it does not seem altogether to account. Probably the case is not so simple, and a combination of causes must be sought. The most important of these is the manner of the original composition. Even from the versions it is clear that the book is wanting in literary form, a refinement to which perhaps Jewish writers attached only secondary importance. The exordium very aptly consists of a praise of Wisdom, suggested no doubt by the beginning of the Book of Proverbs, but the subject is not exhausted there. It recurs, *e.g.* in iv. 11, vi. 18, xiv. 20, xxiv. Again, the author seems to have intended to divide his work into sections, complete in themselves, dealing with particular branches of instruction. Thus we have headings like *περὶ βρωμάτων*, מוסר לחם ויין שבח אבות עולם, מוסר בושת (*πατέρων ὕμνος*). But there seems

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often to be little order in the subjects treated: they run into one another, and the author wanders from his point and recurs to it again when we least expect it. Take for example the following series:—xxxix. 16–35, on the works of the Lord; xl. 1–7, man is born to trouble; xl. 8–17, the fate of sinners; xl. 18–27, things which are desirable; xl. 28–30, begging; xli. 1–4, death; xli. 5–13, sinners again; xli. 14–16, on hiding wisdom; xli. 17–xlii. 8, of what things to be ashamed; xlii. 9–14, women; xlii. 15 *sqq.*, the works of the Lord again. The general effect is often so disjointed as to convey the impression that the author wrote down his thoughts just as they occurred to him, without following any definite plan, perhaps intending afterwards to polish his work and reduce it to shape. This impression is rather confirmed by the style of the Hebrew. In spite of textual corruptions, much of it is really excellent and has evidently received a final revision, *e.g.* chapters xliv. and l.; but much of it also is crabbed and obscure, like the work of a man who writes with difficulty, and might have been improved by revision, *e.g.* chap. xl. The natural explanation of this inequality is that (like the *Aeneid*) this book was left by the author in an unfinished state. Dr. Herkenne (*De V. Lat. Ecclesiastici capp.* i.–xliii., Leipzig, 1899, p. 11) has shown reasons for believing in the existence of different recensions of H, on which were based different recensions of G, and this is exactly what would be expected if the unfinished work was edited by various hands after the author's death. Some passages must have been uncertain or confused, and of others there were perhaps alternative forms. It is to the various methods adopted by various editors for settling these difficulties that a part at least of the doublets is to be ascribed.

As to the latter part of the book, it is evident that something unusual has happened. There are no Rabbinical quotations after xlii. 10; the old Armenian version stops at xlii. 25: the copy of the Hebrew with which manuscript B was collated stopped at xlv. 9, where there is a lacuna of six verses in S; and in the present text one of the greatest difficulties, the alphabetic hymn, comes at the end of the book. All these may be mere coincidences due to accident. The combination is, however, striking, and it is quite possible

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that, as the book was not considered sacred, additions and improvements should have been introduced into it according to the taste of particular scribes. Something of the kind seems to be suggested by the later prologue (prefixed to MS. 248, see Fritzsche), which, though not of much authority, deserves to be quoted. The passage is as follows:—*ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν βίβλον ταύτην ὁ πρῶτος Ἰησοῦς σχεδόν τι συνειλεγμένην καταλιπὼν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ᾤχετο, Σιρὰχ ὁ υἱὸς μετ' αὐτὸν πάλιν λαβὼν τῷ οἰκείῳ παιδὶ κατέλιπεν Ἰησοῦ· ὃς δὴ ταύτης λαβόμενος εἰς ἣν ἅπασαν ἐναρμόνιον σύνταγμα συνήγαγε.* . . . Taking all this into consideration, and remembering that textual corruption in these fragments is unusually great, it may be suggested, in modification of Mr. Lévi's view, that some at least of the doublets go back to different recensions of H, and that some of the additions and corrections which have not that origin are due to the endeavour of later scribes either to bring order out of confusion, perhaps with the help of S, or to improve the text according to their lights. But further, in judging of H, too much reliance must not be placed on G. Its text has been affected by much the same causes as H. Dr. Herkenne has shown that there must have been various recensions of it, and these probably were based on, or at least corrected from, the different recensions of H. The text, too, is corrupt. Such readings as Γώγ (xlviii. 17), Ἰησοῦς (xliii. 23), can only be due to corruption within the version, and that often at an early date. But, apart from this, the mistakes of the translator account for much. It is plain from the style of the prologue that G was no great master of expression, and if he could not express himself in Greek he also had no scholarly knowledge of Hebrew. That there should have been this difference between the grandfather and his grandson is less surprising than it would seem at first sight. The elder Ben Sira had 'been much given to' the study of the Law and the sacred writings—in other words, he was one of the learned class, a forerunner of Hillel and Rabbi Aqiba, whose lives were devoted to the lore and language of their ancestors. Perhaps, if one may press some of his remarks, he was a professed teacher. The grandson, on the other hand, was not a scholar but a practical man. The only possible reason for that short stay in Egypt was com-

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mercial. While the grandfather would probably have scorned to know Greek, the grandson was obliged to use it as being the *lingua franca* of the Levant trade. It is therefore not unnatural (considering the Jewish love of literary pursuits) that in the intervals of business he should utilise his mediocre attainments by translating the family heirloom into his queer, clumsy Greek. His own mother-tongue (in Palestine) was no doubt Aramaic, and, not being a תלמיד חכמים, his knowledge of classical Hebrew was probably not much greater than that of a modern Jew who says his daily prayers and goes to synagogue on Sabbaths. The immense difference between the mental attitude of the doctors (חכמים) and that of ordinary men (עם הארץ) is a commonplace of Rabbinical literature.

If this view is sound, and it is in accordance with what we know from other sources, it points to conclusions affecting critical questions, which we can only briefly indicate. Ben Sira's Hebrew is no longer a living language in the strictest sense of the word. It was the language of the schools, much as Latin was in Europe during the Middle Ages. In a sense classical Hebrew did not die, for it continued to be used in the schools, though becoming less and less understood by the people at large, to whom it had to be interpreted. As time went on, it gradually developed into the language found in the Mishna (2nd century A.D.), and here, in 200 B.C., we see the process going on. Possibly the Hebrew in ordinary use among the teachers at the time was slightly more Mishnic, but Ben Sira was by nature a conservative, and, being deeply versed in the canonical literature, he shows a more classical tendency. He means to write biblical Hebrew, which to him was the only possible language for literary composition, just as, before Dante, no one thought of writing in Italian. There was no precedent for such a course. But it was not his natural language, however much he was accustomed to use it in teaching or discussion, and this fact he sometimes betrays in his less happy moments. To all intents and purposes it is classical, although produced outside the period usually regarded as classical, but we must be careful to modify the term, and the precise extent of our modification is very hard to determine. On the one hand, its style has been considered to stand on an altogether

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higher level than that of Chronicles or Ecclesiastes[1]: on the other, its frequent reminiscences of biblical phraseology, and the imitative and allusive manner in which passages are adapted with a slight change in form or meaning from their original acceptation, coupled with the use of late words and phrases, have been considered to mark the work off from the canonical books, and to bring it nearer to the style of the Paitanim, or late hymn-writers.[2] For the present it would be premature to dogmatize. We feel, however, justified in suggesting that much which is set down to imitation may be only part of the common stock of the language: that the presence of late forms and phrases may often have to be explained as due to glossators and interpolators, either on Mr. Lévi's theory, or according to the view indicated above: that, with one doubtful exception, there is not a single Greek word in all the 51 chapters, whereas Greek words abound in the Mishna. Our final judgment must depend largely on our view of the crucial, late passages, and must be reserved until these have been thoroughly sifted, a process which will take time. Meanwhile it seems reasonable to believe that there is *a much greater gulf* fixed between the Mishna and Ben Sira than between Ben Sira and, for instance, the later Psalms. The question does not depend on a mere vague, subjective feeling for 'style.' The approximations to Mishnic Hebrew are definite and unmistakable, and to determine whether they form an integral part of the book or have been imported into it is vital to the discussion. If the book had been written entirely in Mishnic Hebrew, the argument would have been very strong for putting back the dates of some of the canonical books considerably. As it is, though the long-desired discovery proves disappointing in that it does not settle the question so definitely, we must admit that while it does not compel us to put, *e.g.*, certain Psalms at or after 200 B.C., it certainly gives us few arguments against such a date. If Ben Sira at his best could write as in chapters xliv. and l., there is no reason why another, perhaps more competent, writer should not have composed Psalm 83 about the same

[1] So Cowley and Neubauer's ed. p. xiii.

[2] So Schechter and Taylor's ed. pp. 32 *sqq.*

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period. There is, of course, another set of arguments drawn from the subject-matter of the book, its relation to Hellenism, and the mode of thought displayed in it, but these cannot be considered here. For the present the question is *sub judice.* The verdict should be patiently awaited, without fear and without prejudice.

ART. X.—EPISCOPACY AND REUNION.

1. *Godly Union and Concord.* Sermons preached mainly in Westminster Abbey in the interest of Christian Fraternity. By H. HENSLEY HENSON, B.D. (London: John Murray, 1902.)
2. *The Ministry of Grace.* Studies in Early Church History with reference to Present Problems. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, Bishop of Salisbury. (London: Longmans, 1901.)
3. *England and the Holy See.* An Essay towards Reunion. By SPENCER JONES, M.A. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Viscount HALIFAX. (London: Longmans, 1902.)
4. *Two Treatises on the Church.* By Dr. THOMAS JACKSON and Bishop SANDERSON. To which is added a Letter of Bishop COSIN on the Validity of the Orders of the Foreign Reformed Churches. A Reprint. (London: Elliot Stock, 1901.)
5. *A Study of Modern Anglicanism.* By GORDON MILBURN, M.A. (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1901.)
6. *Our Unhappy Divisions.* Articles in the *Contemporary Review* for December 1901 and January 1902. By Canon HENSLEY HENSON, the BISHOP OF DURHAM, the DEANS OF RIPON, DURHAM, WINCHESTER and ELY, and the Rev. H. RASHDALL.
7. *Christian Reunion.* A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford at Sexagesima, 1902. By W. SANDAY, D.D., Canon of Christ Church. Published in the *Guardian,* February 12, 1902.

THE spirit of reunion among English-speaking Christians has during the past few years exhibited a marked vitality and

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growth. There have, no doubt, been many contributory causes. The critical treatment of ecclesiastical history has thrown all Church theories into the crucible of inductive science, and old principles have been restated in the light of a minute and impartial study of facts. Narrowness of vision is incompatible with breadth of treatment, and knowledge has dissipated prejudice. Moreover the advance of theological study has revealed to men of different confessions their mutual dependence upon one another. Difficult, nay, impossible, though it may be to separate the teaching of divinity from the profession of a creed, it is yet evident that the queen of the sciences, as even the world is again learning to call theology, gains enormously in precision and delicacy from the various, and often contradictory, hypotheses which are applied by the different schools of thought to the same range of facts. And the bond of common aims and interests which unites the theologians of many communions gains strength daily. Then, again, the sentiment of unity has been kindled afresh by the Imperial spirit which has taken possession of the British race. Men who feel that they are one in all else that makes for the advancement of a great people cannot endure that in the religious interest, which touches them more deeply than any other, they should pursue a policy of isolation and rivalry that dissipates energy and paralyses, while it appears to stimulate, genuine effort. We doubt whether many would be found at the present moment seriously to maintain the position, which, if we remember rightly, was enunciated by the late Dr. Moulton, that separatism is part of the Divine plan for the spiritual progress of mankind. Such an opinion would harmonize ill with the prevailing temper, which abhors divisive courses. A united British Church is instinctively felt to be as necessary to the effectiveness of British Christianity as a united British people is to the integrity of British dominion. And if to these influences we add the pressure of those social and spiritual problems which beset our modern life, and the awakened sense of responsibility and service which marked the closing decades of the nineteenth century, we have a current of great intensity, which has been steadily setting in the direction of 'Christian fraternity.'

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Mr. Hensley Henson has been preaching a series of sermons which challenge attention, if for no other reason, because they were delivered from the pulpit of Westminster Abbey by the canon in residence. If, as every indication seems to prove, the positions he asserts are intended, not as tentative suggestions towards a discussion of the subject, but as a serious basis for negotiation between the Anglican Communion and non-episcopal Protestants of various confessions, we can only say that Mr. Henson's attempt fills us with a profound disappointment. A canonry at Westminster imposes upon its occupant a grave responsibility. He must not undertake a task so formidable in its proportions as the reunion of English-speaking Christians unless he feels that he has some new light to throw upon an old subject, some proposal to make that shall be free from the objections which have proved fatal to former endeavours, some discovery that will kindle the enthusiasm and touch the conscience of the whole Church. Whether we look at it from the point of view of history or from that of ecclesiastical statesmanship, Mr. Henson's position is equally unsatisfactory. It solves no old difficulties, while it creates new ones. It is calculated only to revive prejudice on either side, and so to embarrass the very work which it seeks to promote.

It is no very promising feature of Mr. Henson's crusade that he has allowed himself the use of language which belongs, not to the region of serious and scientific discussion, but to the loose and rhetorical habits of thought which find expression in the polemics of the platform, and the correspondence columns of the daily press. Thus, in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, he permits himself to speak of 'the prevailing Anglican doctrine' in the matter of non-episcopal ordination as having 'retrograded to the intolerance which was paramount at the end of Queen Anne's reign.' He regards the expression of goodwill and friendship, when extended to Nonconformists by Churchmen who feel themselves unable to acknowledge the validity of non-episcopal ministrations, as representing 'an unwholesome and demoralising situation.' And further he speaks of 'the insult implied in exhortations to reunion' which, from the point of view

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of a Nonconformist, involve 'an act of spiritual apostasy.' In adopting these unhappy expressions, and thus affixing something of a moral stigma to those who hesitate to accord that 'frank recognition' to Nonconformists for which Mr. Henson pleads, whom is he seeking to rebuke? Is it the saintly Pusey, or the large-hearted Church, or the staunch but ever-chivalrous Liddon? Is it Dr. Sanday, who is perhaps even more capable than Mr. Henson himself of appreciating the contributions of the 'Free Churches' to a common theological science, but who in a recent sermon before the University of Oxford declared his deliberate opinion 'that the time is not yet ripe for any overt action'? Or has the writer of these phrases rather in view the vagaries of 'a young clergyman of the name of Henson,' who, as the Dean of Ripon has gently reminded us, was not the least violent among the opponents of the Grindelwald Conference, and whose incisive, not to say contemptuous, references to the Dissenting bodies are not yet forgotten by his foes, and are still remembered by his friends? We are not so ungenerous as to endeavour to create a prejudice against Mr. Henson, by recalling the unfortunate deliveries of some ten years ago, the abandonment of which he expressly acknowledges in his Introduction to the volume of sermons. They pained those of his friends who agreed with him most when they were uttered, and this open repudiation of them is honourable to himself and pleasing to others. But when the same faults appear in this latest protest against Anglican exclusiveness, and when Mr. Henson attacks his former friends as vigorously as he did his former enemies, and when he shows the same want of a balanced use of language in his recantation as he did in his attack, may we suggest to him that there may be more wisdom in those who are able to uphold the principles of their Church without breach of charity than in one who is as uncharitable in his repudiation as he was in his attacks? The style of his Introduction is in itself almost sufficient to disqualify its author for the office of a mediator. It is too rhetorical to be judicious, too smart to be prophetic. The same impatience which once drove him against the Dissenting ministers now hurls him upon the men in buckram

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whom he mistakes for the High Church party. His onslaught on Dr. Moberly's style is no doubt clever, and his criticisms of particular passages in *Ministerial Priesthood* possibly correct. But we imagine that even the uninstructed reader will begin to consider whether an attack which is so violent can be just, and will recognize that Dr. Moberly has—whether we look at his knowledge or his theological attainments—the right to be treated with controversial respect. His very faults of style arise from a desire not to overstate his case, and in his treatment of historical questions he has written with a full knowledge of what he may legitimately assert. Blemishes such as those which we have described cannot but have unfortunate consequences. And Mr. Henson has not succeeded in raising the debate above the exaggerations of party recrimination. To the superiority which airily talks of schism he opposes the indignation of wounded self-respect. And when we find Dr. Rashdall following in his train, and talking of Apostolic Succession as a 'gigantic figment,' or opposing the 'Presbyterian Church of Scotland' to the 'episcopal sect [*sic*] in that country,' we are constrained to declare that here is neither the dry light of the historical temper nor the reasonableness of the true spirit of conciliation.

But Mr. Henson's rhetorical methods do not stop here. They lead to the employment of other lines of argument which have no real place in the serious treatment of the subject in hand. 'As I read the New Testament,' he exclaims, 'the one test which Christ authorized men to apply to His disciples was precisely the test of moral results.' We presume that the reference is to one of two sayings, either 'the tree is known by its fruits,' or 'he that is not against us is for us.' The connexion in which these sayings occur makes their application sufficiently obvious. But it is manifestly absurd that the argument from moral results—which is valid just so far as our Lord permitted Himself to use it—should be employed to silence controversies which depend upon the interpretation of Scripture and the testimony of history. Because such Unitarians as William Channing and James Martineau afford illustrious examples of Christian lives, are those who adhere to the Nicene Creed to regard their faith as a thing indifferent?

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Because Arianism produced many saintly characters and proved itself a missionary force of no mean magnitude, was Athanasius not justified in standing against the world? Mr. Henson speaks of the testimony borne by results to Nonconformist ministries. What of lay ministries like that of Henry Drummond? What of the Society of Friends? Nothing can well be more futile than to substitute for a patient and reverent investigation of Christian origins a cursory survey of modern Christendom.

There are two other marked characteristics of Mr. Henson's attitude which it would be impossible not to notice, as they are in reality destructive of his whole position. The first is that he confuses means with ends. His end is the composing of those differences which prevent the Church of England and the various communities of non-episcopal Christians from coalescing in one great society which shall present a common worship to God and unite in one common service of man. Now what are the means which he proposes for the attainment of that end? They are the unquestioned admission of Nonconformists to Holy Communion, and of their ministers to Anglican pulpits. Mr. Henson does not say whether he would admit the latter to celebrate the Sacraments in our churches. But if there is to be intercommunion, if Presbyterians and others are to communicate with us and we with them, and if the superior ministry of the Word is to be freely accorded to their pastors, there is no ground in reason why the dependent ministry of Sacraments should be withheld. But if these are the means, what is the end? How does it differ from them? What more can be claimed in order that we may reach 'the unification of the religious agencies now existing in the country'? We are inclined to oppose to the impulsive haste of Mr. Henson the sober caution of Dr. Sanday. 'The advocates of reunion with Protestant bodies, I am afraid, are, some of them at least, beginning at the wrong end. They are proposing to begin with that which must be really the crown and finish of their work. Full intercommunion must be the last step and not the first; and it is not to be reached by a huge leap in the dark.'

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And the second point is this. There is no evidence in what Mr. Henson has written that he has any adequate grasp in all its manifold bearings of the task to which he has set his hand. 'The time has come,' he exclaims, 'for the frank recognition by English Churchmen of the non-episcopal ministries.' How he reconciles this conviction with the admission that 'the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, as taught by the Tractarians' is 'now paramount in the National Church' we leave it to him to explain. We should have thought that, however absurd this teaching may appear to Mr. Henson and Dr. Rashdall, the fact that it still retains a firm hold among many of the most devout and (we venture to add) the most intelligent leaders of the Church would rather make it clear that reunion, when it comes, must be the product of conditions which are not yet by any means all present. However, what Mr. Henson means is that the 'immensity' of the task which lies immediately before us imperatively demands a junction of the forces of religion. This method of regarding the Church entirely misses its true proportions. We cannot be content with any unity which for the sake of an immediate return narrows an ideal that is coextensive with, nay that transcends, both time and place. Nor are we disposed to regard with favour any proposal to escape from the Anglican isolation, which Mr. Henson seeks to terminate, by an irrevocable breach with traditions that have always seemed to make this isolation the pledge of a universal purpose. It is because this element in the problem must not be ignored that we call attention to Mr. Spencer Jones's *England and the Holy See*. If Mr. Henson is convinced that the time has come for the recognition of non-episcopal ministries, Mr. Jones is no less certain that 'the question that must now be faced is not merely the general relation of national Churches to the Catholic Church, but more particularly of our own Church of England to the Holy See.' We have no sympathy with the argument here pursued, prompted, as it appears to be, by the desire for an infallible voice not less than by the hope of a reunited Christendom. A treatise which counts it as axiomatic that 'reunion for the English

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Church signifies reunion with the Church of Rome'; which all but takes for granted that 'the Roman type comes nearest to that ideal of unity presented by our Lord'; which draws an analogy between the difficulties of the allies at Tientsin and a Catholic Church without a Vicar of Christ; which can seriously treat Dr. Hort's opinion that St. James was not president of the first council at Jerusalem as practically equivalent to an admission that the chair was occupied by St. Peter; which interprets Cyprian's 'una cathedra' of the papacy; and which is so wedded to the idea of the Petrine primacy that even the Clementine letter and St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans are pressed into the service of the Apostolic See—such a treatise can hardly claim to be regarded as a solid contribution to the subject. But its publication at the present time is a sufficient criticism of the policy advocated by Mr. Henson. There are many sober theologians in the Church of England whose Anglican instinct and ampler scholarship would deter them from following Mr. Spencer Jones, but who would be at one with him in seeking a reunion with the main body of the Western Church rather than with the numerous sects that divide the Protestant world. Whether they are right or wrong, the sentiment which they represent is sufficiently powerful to remove the course of which Mr. Henson has constituted himself the advocate from the region of practical politics. It is a solution of present difficulties which, to adopt Dr. Rashdall's phrase, 'would be more likely to multiply schism than to heal it.' And to any scheme of reconciliation which shall rise above the narrow limits of a present day expedient, Roman and Russian, Armenian and Copt, are, to say the least, as important as Lutheran and Zwinglian, Methodist and Presbyterian.

But, Mr. Henson would reply that there is nothing empirical or rash in the methods it is proposed to adopt. The Church of England must be recalled to ancient paths and reminded of principles that the intolerance of a later age has allowed to slip. We have seldom seen an historical argument the drift of which it was more difficult to discern than Mr. Henson's discussion of the Confirmation rubric in

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the *Contemporary Review*. It is rigidity of interpretation that he deprecates. He contends that it was never meant to be understood in the literal and obvious sense. He tells us that 'the last clause was added in 1661, and was vainly excepted against by the Puritans.' What the Puritans really objected to was the peremptory strictness of the rubric as it stood before the Savoy Conference. This was one of the very few instances in which the bishops were prepared to make a concession. They recommended the addition of the clause 'or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.' No doubt the Puritans were dissatisfied, and for the very good reason that the words were understood to mean what they say, and to cover the case of those who could not, but not of those who would not, be confirmed. They were intended to provide for those who, when dioceses were large and travelling difficult, might have been deprived of the Communion for many years. So far the Puritan exception was recognised as reasonable, but no further. We are prepared to allow that the case of Lutheran and other foreigners, coming from countries where episcopal Confirmation is practically impossible, and temporarily resident among us, may be regarded as subject to special treatment. But they would be the exception that proves the rule. It is a travesty of history to suppose that a rubric, as drawn up by the Revisers of 1662, was intended to admit the Anabaptist, the Independent, the British Presbyterian, without passing through the only door that was left open for the conforming Churchman. It is not the intolerant Toryism of the reign of Queen Anne nor the bigotry of the Oxford Movement which has raised this barrier against the Nonconformist, but the only interpretation which the facts will allow us to place upon a rule of the Church of England which had the approval of Cosin and Sanderson, of Gunning and Thorndike. What the relevancy may be of Richard Baxter's account of his own Confirmation, which Mr. Henson transcribes for us, or of the information that 'the defect which serious folk found with Episcopal confirmation was its inadequacy for the purpose for which they supposed the Ordinance to exist,' it is not easy to understand. Bishop Cosin has left us in no

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doubt of the purpose for which he supposed it to exist, and that is in itself a sufficient reason why he and those who thought with him should have insisted upon it as they did. Speaking of the name by which this rite is called, he says:

'The nature of this Holy Sacrament (for so we need not fear to call it in a right sense) will be the more easily understood by the several names it had of old, whereof two are here, Confirmation, or Laying on of Hands. . . . So that there is more in it than Calvin would have, who tells us it is nothing else but a certain public confession of faith made before the bishop, which children could not do before in baptism but by sureties; and that the imposition of hands was used for nothing else, but *ne viderentur frigide discedere ab episcopo*.'

And this he follows up with an explanation of what is meant by the necessity of Confirmation:

'They that die presently after Baptism have all things needful to salvation; they need not fear it; but they that are to live and maintain a spiritual combat against sin and Satan, they have need of God's further graces, which are communicated unto them by imposition of hands. So Baptism saves a man that lives not long after, but Confirmation must help them that are to go on in the hard and straight ways of Christianity, or else he may hap to perish as he goes.'

We need not continue the quotation further. Is it likely, we ask, that men who thus decidedly regarded Confirmation as part of the system of means provided in the Church by God Himself for the salvation of souls would have supplied us with a rubric that should be practically at the mercy of the conscientious objector? Mr. Henson proceeds to prop up a case, which, we feel sure, he must himself have felt to be singularly weak, by tracing the history of laxity in relation to this rubric from the necessities of the Test Act and Occasional Conformity, through the days of Latitudinarianism to the corporate communion of New Testament Revisers in Westminster Abbey, when the admission of a Unitarian to the Holy Table opened the eyes of many Churchmen to the serious consequences involved in the neglect of a plain direction of the Prayer Book. He must indeed be hard put to

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it if he must needs go to the intolerant legislation which degraded the deepest mysteries of the faith into a qualification for civil office, in order to show that the Church did not insist upon Confirmation; or interpret the meaning of the Prayer Book by the slovenly practice of the eighteenth century, when the voice of the Church was silenced, and spiritual life was at the ebb, and 'moderate men looked big.' If persons were freely admitted to Communion without Confirmation, that only means that questions were not asked. But is it ever expedient to ask questions where no principle is denied by assuming that the Church's rule has been complied with? Have the clergy any right to create difficulties for themselves by assuming that impediments exist, of which they have no certain knowledge? And, if the intention of the Church of England is to be interpreted by the practice—or ought we not rather to say the omissions—of the past 250 years, what certainty will there be that the Prayer Book has any meaning whatsoever? We should not affirm with Canon Carter's memorialists, if Mr. Henson interprets them aright, that the rubric was designed to guard against the admission of Nonconformists to Holy Communion. But it seems more certain still that Archbishop Tait was explaining it in the light of his own unhistorical prepossessions when he declared that it did not apply 'to those members of foreign *or dissenting* bodies who occasionally conform.' What the Churchmen of 1662, as we think we have now fairly shown, refused to do was to relax the consistent rule of the Church in favour of the Puritan party. Because that party is now represented by organized communities working over the same area as the Church of England, the need for a scrupulous adhesion to the terms of the rubric is enhanced rather than diminished. It seems probable that neither Mr. Henson nor the Bishop of Durham, who, with what wisdom it is not for us to say, descends into the arena of magazine warfare to tell us that the rubric is 'a domestic rule,' has really faced the logic of this position as regards our own people, for whom the Bishop declares Confirmation to be 'very wholesome.' Whether our people will agree with this view of the case when they find their Methodist

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neighbours excused from what is always somewhat of a courageous step for all but the richer classes, is not at all assured. And as to this general principle of interpretation, we have only to add that, whatever may be said of the utterances of a comparatively irresponsible canon, nice questions may be involved in the expression which a bishop gives to his opinions. We cannot help wondering, as we read the Bishop of Durham's comment on Mr. Henson's plea, what his lordship's attitude will be towards such of the clergy as may be inclined to apply this method of historical reservation to other rubrics which have been the subject of controversy.

We come now to what, so far as Mr. Henson bases his plea upon the ground of English Church history, is the main support of his contention. Non-episcopal ministries are to be frankly recognised. This proposition, he maintains, is 'rather the recovery of a liberty which has been lost than the winning of any novel franchise.'

Now, in the first place, we must observe that this liberty, if liberty there was, has been lost, not by the growth of a body of opinion unfavourable to its exercise, but by the express, official act of the Church in 1661. Whatever may be said of the rubric at the end of the Order of Confirmation, there can be no doubt whatever that the Preface of the Ordinal of 1662 is directed against the exercise within the Church of England of those ministries for whose recognition Mr. Henson pleads, and no prelate, whatever his personal sympathies may have been, has ventured to interpret it practically in any other sense. It is idle to call this prohibition a domestic rule for the Church of England, and to declare that it asserts nothing as to the validity of other ministrations for those who adhere to them. What Presbyterian or Methodist cares a shred for any recognition of his ministers which does not involve an interchange of pulpits and the permission to minister sacraments in Anglican churches? This is the very 'insult' of which Mr. Henson complains, and which it is his purpose to abolish. The law of the Church of England and the theory of the Ministry therein expressed forbid, as Mr. Henson is obliged to admit,

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the recognition of any but episcopal ordination. We hold, therefore, that he has no right to speak of 'the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, *as held and taught by the Tractarians*, and now paramount in the National Church,' as the real barrier to reconciliation. Whatever may be said of other points in their teaching, it is certain that in this matter of the Ministry it was they, and not the Latitudinarians of the previous century or the contemporary Liberals, whose theory corresponded to the existing facts of the English Church. And it is perhaps by the revival of a prejudice against the Oxford Movement, as radically an innovation upon the spirit of the Church of England, that Mr. Henson's precipitate action is calculated to do most harm to the cause which it vainly seeks to further.

But even Mr. Henson's admission of the undoubted bar to the realisation of his hopes, which is interposed by the Preface to the Ordinal, is expressed in such a way as to give an entirely false impression of the influences by which it was framed. He tells us that 'the Restoration Settlement enshrined in our Church system the polemical bitterness of a revolutionary epoch.' This is contrasted, first, with the state of opinion before the rise of the Laudian school, when 'the English Church and the Reformed Churches of the Continent mutually recognized each other as sisters'; and, secondly, with the concessions of the Caroline divines themselves, who 'were willing to recognize the non-episcopal Churches as true Churches.' But who, we have to ask, were responsible for the Restoration Settlement? In 1661 Bramhall was in Ireland. But Cosin, Sanderson, and Morley were all members of the Savoy Conference. Heylin, chaplain and biographer of Laud, was present as an assessor. So was Gunning, to whom Cosin in 1650 had addressed one of those very letters which declare his opinion of the foreign Reformed Churches; and Thorndike, whom, with Andrewes, Overall, Bramhall, and Cosin, Mr. Henson singles out as recognizing the 'essential solidarity' of the Protestant Reformation throughout the continent of Europe. Our Prayer Book therefore does not represent an abandonment of the counsels of the old men. Its rubrics are not the scorpion whips

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with which the resentful fury of the young men sought to chastise the irreconcilable Dissenter. It represents the deliberate and mature judgment of men who from the first had taken no narrow or exclusive view of the Church of England, but who in the spirit of Richard Hooker had been able to grasp the true principles of its reformation as involved in the facts, and had learned by an experience the meaning of which it was impossible to mistake that the party which desired concession had no other aim but to subvert those principles.

Mr. Henson has spoken of the Restoration as a revolutionary epoch. He might with greater felicity have applied this description to the Elizabethan age. In 1662 opinions and theories had attained a stability, arising out of the conflict of opposing tendencies, which was not possible when the rejection of the mediæval system was still fresh. But it is scarcely understood how early and in what quarters the distinctive features of a later Anglican theology began to manifest themselves. Mr. Henson refers us, as others have done before him, to the fact that under the Subscription Act of 1571, foreign Protestant ministers were permitted to hold benefices in England, as evidence of a more tolerant spirit among the reformers of that period. But the argument is in reality double-edged. For in the first place, though Mr. Henson's language would certainly seem to suggest it, there is nothing whatsoever in the terms of the Act itself which would imply that the case of the reformed non-Episcopal ministers came within the view of Parliament, and the fact that objection was taken to its application in this sense goes far to establish the view that its ostensible purpose was to secure adhesion to the reformed doctrine of the Articles on the part of such Marian clergy as retained their livings. It has all the appearance of being framed on the lines of similar legislation in the preceding reign, and refers only to such priests as claimed to exercise their ministry in virtue of any other 'form of institution, consecration, or ordering,' than the Edwardine book. It is straining the language of the Act to make the word 'form' include anything further than the rite by which the person

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was ordained. Grindal, it is true, issued letters of authorisation to at least one person 'ordered' in Scotland. But it is only by ignoring the fact that there was any difference in the nature of such a commission from that of those ordained according to the English Ordinal, apart from the rite by which it was conveyed, that it could really be taken as covered by the Subscription Act. And, at any rate, whatever may have been its original scope, it is clear that it did not contemplate a 'frank recognition of non-Episcopal ministries' as a permanent condition of intercommunion between the Church of England and the foreign reformers, for it is expressly provided that 'no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least, *and a deacon*.' That Lord Huntingdon interpreted the Act in a sense favourable to Whittingham may be freely admitted, though his declaration that 'it could not but be ill-taken of all the godly learned, both at home and in all the reformed churches abroad, that we should allow of the Popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of the ministers made in a reformed church,' is not only pretty clear evidence of the main purpose of the Act, but, not unlike some later ecclesiastical decisions, savours rather of expediency than of law. Mr. Henson might have added that in his Supplication to the Council the notorious Walter Travers claimed the benefit of this same statute. But this would have brought him across another set of facts, which may well give us pause before assenting to the proposition that among Elizabethan divines the validity of non-Episcopal 'orders' was so open a subject as Mr. Henson supposes. Lord Bacon, of whom it is said that he wrote science like a Lord Chancellor, and over whose theology the Woolsack was probably not less influential, published an 'Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England,' a pamphlet which should not be overlooked by those who desire to understand the Elizabethan age. He refers 'to some indiscreet persons' who 'have been bold in open preaching to use dishonourable and derogatory speech and censure of the Churches abroad; and that so far, as some of our men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have

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been pronounced to be no lawful ministers.' The passage may perhaps be taken to refer in a pre-eminent degree to Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross in 1589, on 'trying the spirits.' But the case of Travers should remind us that the Primacy was already occupied by a man who, though he always wrote 'honourably' of the Continental reformers, nevertheless used language which reveals a sympathy with Hooker and Sutcliffe, with Andrewes and Laud. It was in 1584, the year after his succession to Canterbury, that, in announcing to the Queen the vacancy in the Mastership of the Temple, he speaks in deprecating terms of Travers, who had been 'ordained by the Presbytery of Antwerp,' as 'either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas; not according to the form in this Church of England used.' Nor must it be forgotten that Saravia, himself a foreign reformer, had maintained as early as 1564 that Episcopacy was not only best but Divine, and whether he was himself reordained or not, expressly left the reformed community of his native land in order to reside in a Church where the ancient regiment was preserved. Bearing these facts in mind, it is scarcely possible to assert that it was left to the indiscretion of a few hotheaded partisans to 'deface foreign Churches.' The learned and sober school of theologians, which has retained, and we venture to think must continue to retain, the decisive influence in the destinies of the Anglican communion, because it alone has produced a theory which gives its proper individuality to the spirit of the English Reformation, had already begun to exercise a great and growing influence within the Church. English bishops are not usually supposed to be 'indiscreet persons.' And we believe that the weightiest minds of the Church of England in the reign of Elizabeth would have adopted the attitude of Hooker, being content 'to lament' rather than 'exagitate' 'the defect and imperfection' of the reformed Churches. We should be surprised if such a concession as this should be found to provide a very hopeful basis for negotiation with modern Nonconformists.

When Mr. Henson turns from the Elizabethan Church to the Caroline divines, he enters upon a field still more barren

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of satisfactory results. The ground has often been traversed before, but the fact that it is now trodden by a canon of Westminster, with a certain reputation in the field of history, will invest the evidence which he alleges with the character of a new discovery. What then is its value? In the first place it is certain that, if the passages in the writings of Andrewes, Bramhall, Cosin, and the rest which are advanced in favour of non-episcopal ordination be eliminated, there would be nothing to show that they differed in any respect from the stiff school of High Churchmen whose opinions Mr. Henson deprecates. Allowing the utmost to their concessions, we have only convicted them of an inconsistency of thought, for which the pressure of the times, which, as Mr. Henson justly says, powerfully suggested the urgency of a Protestant alliance, will sufficiently account. But what is the true state of the case? Mr. Henson quotes the oft-repeated judgment of Bishop Andrewes that 'he is blind who does not see Churches consisting without' episcopacy. He is silent as to the awkward comment on this assertion given by Andrewes himself, when he hesitated to join in the consecration of the Scottish bishops at London House in 1610 on the ground that they had never been ordained to the priesthood, until Bancroft produced two instances from ancient Church history of consecrations *per saltum*.

The view of Thorndike will be made sufficiently plain by one short passage in his *Discourse of the Forbearance or the Penalties which a due Reformation requires*:

'Though I must not take upon me either to justify or to condemn their ordinations, averring on one side that they are not according to rule, seeing on the other side that they are owned by my superiors; yet I must acknowledge that there are very great reasons to hope and to presume that God accepteth of their ordinations, though not made according to rule, *in consideration of the necessity that drove them to it*.'

Will the plea of 'necessity' be more likely to satisfy the modern Nonconformist than it did Richard Baxter? As the type of those 'superiors' in the Church, who were inclined to 'own' the non-episcopal ministries of foreign reformed

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churches, we may take Cosin, whose mind was expressed with sufficient accuracy in one of his earlier letters, written from St. Germains in 1646:

'It is far less safe to join with these men that alter the *credenda*, the vitals of religion, than with those that meddle only with the *agenda* and rules of religion, if they meddle no farther. And, where it is not in our power to help it, there is no doubt but, in these things, God will accept the will for the deed, if that will (without our assent or approbation to the contrary) be preserved entire.'

Would Dr. Parker or Dr. John Watson or Mr. Meyer, or any of the leaders of modern Nonconformity, accept a recognition so equivocal as the basis of negotiation? Yet Cosin says no more. He tells Mr. John Cordel that 'in case of necessity' he should not scruple to communicate with French Protestants, accompanying the act with a 'protestation' which reserved the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. In this same letter he is careful to affirm that the ministers of the reformed congregations are 'liable to give an account, both to God and His Church in general, for taking upon them to exercise that power which by the perpetual practice and laws of His Church they were never permitted to exercise.' And to Mr. Gunning:

'I could tell you another [story] of Bishop Overall's judgment herein, who was as great a patron of antiquity and the Church of England as any Bishop or Priest that ever lived in it, and was wont to say, "Though we are not to lessen the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, where it is established and may be had, yet we must take heed that we do not, for want of episcopacy, where it cannot be had, cry down and destroy all the Reformed Churches abroad, both in Germany, France, and other places, and say they have neither ministers nor sacraments, but all is void and null that they do." This is all the letter [to Mr. Cordel] drives at, and at nothing else: which truly I cannot apprehend, how it either hurts the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, or excuseth their voluntary and transcendent impiety, that have endeavoured to destroy it in the Church of England, contrary to the laws of God, and His universal Church, the mother of us all.'

Well, as we apprehend Mr. Henson, he at least is driving at much more. Whether, with Cosin, we admit the case of

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necessity and, saving the integrity of the Church of England, recognise these ministries; or, with Thorndike, refuse to condemn; or, with certain High Churchmen, declare them to be (humanly speaking) null and void; in any case, we have made no concession in principle. At the most, we have uttered, in the terms that a reasonable Christian charity suggests, the fairly obvious proposition that necessity knows no law.

But the main witness to the unhistorical character of Mr. Henson's contention is to be found in the communities on behalf of whom it is raised. The Caroline divines speak of the reformed churches of France and Germany. Mr. Henson demands a frank recognition for Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and other communities of English-speaking Christians outside the Anglican communion. Will anyone pretend that Cosin and Bramhall would have used the arguments they did, if they had contemplated their application to those whose very existence was to them a denial of the jurisdiction of the Church of England? Mr. Henson has quoted Cosin's will. We may perhaps be allowed to quote it in return. After abjuring all 'heresies, sectaries, and fanatics,' he proceeds as follows:

'Among whom I rank not only the separatists, the anabaptists, and their followers (alas), too too many, but also the new independents and presbyterians of our country.'

We have no wish to adopt the language which Cosin employs with reference to these Dissenters in speaking of their modern representatives. But we must emphatically protest against the theory, implied in Mr. Henson's application of the argument from history, that seceders from the national Church have only to secure an established position as independent societies in order to avail themselves of a method of exceptional treatment designedly constructed so as to exclude them. Dr. Rashdall, we observe, has detected this flaw in Mr. Henson's armour, and would have us 'accord a fuller recognition to non-Episcopal National Churches.' This is just one of those vague statements which are dear to the heart of some Churchmen, but have no correspondence

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with practical realities. Dr. Rashdall's immediate instance, of course, is the 'Presbyterian Church of Scotland,' though, when he says that we should court every opportunity of asserting the claim of that communion to the title of 'Church of Scotland,' he does not condescend to tell us whether he would 'insult' nearly half the Presbyterians of the North by confining the name to the Establishment whose legal right not even Episcopalians dispute. There are weighty reasons why Presbyterianism, which undoubtedly represents, as no other religious force in Scotland does, a national sentiment, should be placed in a very different category from English Nonconformity. But, viewed historically, Dr. Rashdall could not well have lighted on an instance more fatal to the plea which it is sought to establish. While Anglican writers of the seventeenth century mention the reformed churches in France, Holland, and Germany, they significantly omit Scotland, the nearest of them all. And the reason is sufficiently obvious. 'You do extremely well,' writes Archbishop Laud to Bishop Hall, 'to distinguish the Scottish business from the foreign churches.' As soon as the case arose in which it was possible to restore an imperfect church according to 'the laws of God and His universal Church,' the Anglicans of England did what by their principles they were bound to do. The canons of 1604, which include the 'Church of Scotland' in the bidding prayer, are no evidence, as they are often controversially supposed to be, of a recognition of Presbyterian ministries. For James VI., before he succeeded to the English Crown, had already restored the northern hierarchy, and only waited the convenient moment to procure canonical consecration. And when in 1610 that omission was duly made good, the argument of necessity, the only argument which had been admitted by Anglican divines, was no longer applicable to Scotland. And we cannot doubt that those who rejected episcopacy north of the Tweed were included among those 'Presbyterians of our country' to whom Cosin alludes in his will. We may admit that the restored prelacy was never so unhesitatingly accepted by any great section of the Scottish people as to constitute the claim of the Episcopal Church to

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be regarded even historically as the church of the country. But this is a very different thing from a repudiation of the bond, recognised even by the civil law, that unites us to a communion which, if not a national, is at least a genuinely Scottish exponent of the principles underlying our own ecclesiastical system. This would not only be untrue alike to history and to Anglican tradition, but under modern conditions would constitute a positive hindrance to reunion. The great English-speaking world now includes a multitude of peoples, scattered from one end of the earth to the other, and developing under conditions as varied as tropic heat and arctic snow. This expansion has been accompanied not only by a mingling of British races in new commonwealths but by a distribution of British churches and sects over new territories, where one has as good a right to consider itself a native institution as another. The old conception of National Churches is no longer adequate to the circumstances. What, for example, will a believer in National Churches do when he pays a visit to South Africa? Will he be an English Churchman in Natal, a member of the Dutch Reformed in the Transvaal, and a Roman Catholic at Lourenço Marques? Will he not rather abandon his formal theory, and, if be an Anglican, regard himself as belonging to a great federation of churches, variously organised but organically one, established in England, disestablished in Ireland, existing side by side with another establishment in Scotland, occupying to a certain extent the position of a government service in India, developing its life as a voluntary society in Canada, Australasia, or the United States? That, at any rate, is the theory of the Lambeth Conference, as it is *mutatis mutandis* of Pan-Presbyterianism and Œcumenical Methodism. And we are confident that it will only be by a scrupulous loyalty to those unities which at present exist that, as God wills, we shall reach the final unity of the ideal Catholic Church.

We have now to indicate, as briefly as may be, why, in our judgment, the present moment is singularly inopportune for suggestions towards ecclesiastical reconstruction or experiments with existing Church order. Times of transition, of which the present age is admittedly a conspicuous example,

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are ill suited to the removal of landmarks which are not yet proved to be obsolete, or the unsettlement of institutions which, for all we know, the end of criticism may be to set upon a firmer base. And, unless we have altogether misread the tendency of recent investigation into the origin of the episcopate and the lessons suggested by results in other departments of theological inquiry, it is no less true of the Christian Ministry than of the Christian Bible, that, as Dr. Rendel Harris has put it, the Catholic traditions have a singular habit of justifying themselves. Our times abound in the discovery of new facts, in the application of new hypotheses, and consequently in the development of new methods of thought. All truth, and not least the Christian Faith, has had to be restated in terms which are intelligible to the modern thinker. The inductive and historical methods are necessarily held to be universally valid, and the syllogistic systems of the schools can no longer claim the title of scientific theology. All this will be granted, and, by Anglicans at any rate, accepted with enthusiasm. But because it is inconsistent with modern habits of thought to regard miracles as the arbitrary intervention of Almighty God in the course of nature, the Christian of to-day is not therefore doubtful in His Son's Resurrection. Because in view of critical inquiry the rough and ready theories of verbal and plenary inspiration, which satisfied our grandfathers, have dropped off as inadequate representations of fact, we have not ceased to believe that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God. We no longer write concerning the date and authorship of the books of the New Testament in the manner of the older commentaries. We have entered zealously into the synoptic problem and welcomed the higher critical study of the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul. And what has been the result? Only that the deposit of Apostolic witness has come forth as gold tried in the fire. If this is true of that 'fundamentum et columna fidei,' which is the Scripture, it is true also of that other 'pillar and ground of the truth,' which is the Church. From the earliest times there has been a close parallel between the two. The twin principles are already apparent in the Pastoral Epistles, which exhibit the Apostolic

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representatives as commissioned to preserve the order and guard the tradition in the Churches of Ephesus and Crete. And the second century shows the Church beginning to put forward, on the one hand the episcopate, on the other the writings of Apostles as the bulwark against Gnostic heresy. It would be well if in our own day this connexion were more vividly perceived, and purity of faith rather than validity of sacraments recognised as the main justification of a rigid adherence to the 'historic episcopate.' This is the very guarantee which Mr. Henson's suggestions show no evidence of being able to supply. An incoherent Church and an incoherent creed are near neighbours. We believe, then, that the course of investigation with regard to the Christian Ministry is pursuing precisely the same lines which are apparent in the case of the Scriptures. If it would convey a manifestly false impression to contrast with Bishop Christopher Wordsworth's commentaries the writings of Lightfoot, or Westcott, or Dr. Sanday, as though the more recent writers had rejected the Johannean authorship of St. John, doubted the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, or regarded the synoptic narrative as a creation of the late second century, it is no less gross exaggeration to suggest that Bishop John Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace* is tantamount to a surrender of the position adopted by his father's *Theophilus Anglicanus* in respect to the Episcopate. What has happened since the publication in 1868 of Lightfoot's essay has been the readjustment of 'the Catholic tradition' to the inductive method, which observes principles as they are revealed in the facts instead of arranging the facts in the framework of a system. We are, so to speak, rediscovering the historic position of the Church in relation to the modern world. Though this process must necessarily involve less rigidity in statement, it does not involve a departure from 'our jealous adhesion to a polity derived from' a 'divine sanction.' How keenly even Bishop Lightfoot felt the significance of his own words may be gathered from the fact that in 1883 he journeyed to Fort William to take part in the consecration of the Bishop of Argyle, and again three years later to Edinburgh to perform a similar office for the bishop

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of that city. Those whose admiration for Dr. Lightfoot is rather of the letter than of the spirit will do well to ponder this practical commentary which he himself gave to his historical conclusions. But there has been a distinct advance since the celebrated essay on the Christian Ministry was first published. The conclusions of Dr. Hatch's Bampton Lectures, valuable as the Bishop of Salisbury freely allows them to be for the sidelight which they throw upon the problem of the episcopate, revealed the limitations of the inductive method, when it confined its observations to a too restricted area, more especially when it sought to study the evolution of the Ministry apart from a due appreciation of the bearing of the New Testament. Such studies of the Gospel as Mr. Latham's *Pastor Pastorum* re-called attention to those methods of training and selection by which Christ Himself laid the foundations of His visible kingdom. It became apparent that the plan of the Divine Mind, if historically studied in Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, was not satisfied by an amorphous, unarticulated society, based upon the shifting sand of a promiscuous discipleship. The principle of organic life and of a duly exercised authority involved in this conception is something far deeper, more true to the modern picture of the universe, than the theories of Apostolic Succession, which it has inevitably superseded, and which, though adequate for their day, were somewhat symbolical in their manner of presenting truth. What we mean is that the larger view, which the rise of historical science has opened up for us, is not concerned to maintain that the whole Christian Ministry sprang as an historical fact out of the original Apostles, and then only by means of an unbroken laying on of hands, and none otherwise. It is not concerned to deny that the primitive charismatic ministry may have possessed large independent powers, or that presbyters may, in this community or in that, have received the recognition of the Body of Christ without the specific intervention of St. Peter or St. John or another of the Twelve. If the list of bishops preserved in any of the primitive churches prove to be untrustworthy, or if the evidence seem to point to a late development of the monarchical episcopate, whether in Rome

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or Alexandria, these are not questions for grave concern, as requiring a possible abandonment of cherished beliefs. By experts they have been raised, and by experts they must be decided. But what a due recognition of the principle, which the evidence of the New Testament shows to be involved in the facts of the Church's constitution, does demand, is that we shall not treat the rapid extension of the episcopate in the second century as a happy mechanical device invented to meet the inroads of Gnosticism, and not rather as the due and orderly discharge of a function inherent in the inherited life of the Church. We doubt whether in its wildest developments the doctrine of Apostolic Succession was ever held to involve the delicate questions of unbroken links which moved the ridicule of Macaulay. It is for no such nice, unspiritual theory that we, at any rate, contend. But it is, we take it, becoming increasingly evident that no such conditions as have produced the non-Episcopal ministries, which took their rise in the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries, have any parallel in the Primitive Church. Hierarchical types and methods of ordination may conceivably change. The relations between one ministerial order and another may vary indefinitely. There is no communion in which the episcopate is more various than in our own, ranging from the prelatical occupant of an ancient English see to the humble pioneer of a missionary jurisdiction. But the fact remains that all the evidence of Scripture and of the continuous Church tradition makes it plain that the Ministry never was regarded as a mere matter of arrangement, nor recognition by a body of Christians, however arbitrarily chosen, as constituting a valid claim to act in the name of the universal Church. We agree with the Bishop of Salisbury in declaring that all that is vital in the doctrine of Apostolical Succession is contained in the διαδέξωνται of the Clementine Epistle. It will be well to quote the passage from the *Ministry of Grace.*

'This succession,' says the Bishop, 'is no new idea, but one that comes to us from Clement of Rome, in the first century, through Hegesippus and Irenaeus in the second, and Hippolytus (?) and Cyprian in the third, to name only the most prominent

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authorities who speak of it. Its objects are the maintenance of internal order in the communities, and of truth and of general unity in the Church at large; and these three are the permanent objects for which we ought to maintain the succession.'

How 'monarchical' episcopacy was developed is of secondary importance. That from the beginning there were 'orders' holding a succession of ministry from the Apostles, and that, as the needs of the Church demanded an episcopate, the bishops became and still are the only historical guarantee of its permanence, we believe to be the view of ecclesiastical history which is tending to establish itself in the Church, as an expression of the doctrine of continuity in harmony with sound scientific scholarship.

The considerations which we have urged are in our view fatal to any attempt which a zealous haste, impatient of the separations that hinder the spread of the Gospel, may devise for the composition of those differences that divide the Anglican Church from the non-Episcopal communities of British Protestants. Recent events have proved that we have much yet to do within our own borders in order to realise all the facts of our own position, and to present to the world a rational theory of our own existence. Much also remains to be done in patient, sympathetic study of other communions, and in the effort to persuade them to view our history and position with no unfriendly eyes. What may result in the providence of God from that reverent study of our origins to which the Bishop of Worcester recently invited the students of the United Free Church at Edinburgh, it must be for the future to disclose. A calm conviction of the great destiny which awaits the English Church, a firm determination to make full proof of our peculiar heritage, a constant endeavour to seek peace and ensue it with whosoever acknowledges that Jesus is Lord, and an undying faith that, if only we will as God wills, the vision is for an appointed time; these, and not schemes of reconstruction, are the counsels which the hour requires.

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ART. XI.—THE NEW EDUCATION BILL.

The Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1902.

WE have in our last two numbers discussed at some length the educational needs of the country, and have attempted to put forward what we believed to be the just demands of Church schools. After many rumours, and, we believe, much vacillation, and after suffering a considerable amount of pressure, the Government has succeeded in producing a Bill. The pangs of labour have been prodigious, and the feelings of curiosity when the happy event was expected were great. Past experience had not raised our hopes, and many of us had hardened ourselves to prepare for a disappointment. We hasten to say that we have been agreeably surprised. With one great exception which can certainly be remedied in Committee, the Bill may be pronounced a comprehensive and bold attempt to deal with National Education. The Government has had the courage to attack the whole question, and because they have done so they will find their task in the House lighter and their reputation in the country much enhanced. We believe that the Bill is on the whole a good one, and if wisely amended would make a great advance in education. In the few remarks that we have to make we will suggest such alterations as will, we believe, improve it.

We have said that the Bill is comprehensive; there is, of course, one notable exception—London is omitted. We are sorry that it should be so. There is no place where a unification of authority is more needed. There is no place where Voluntary schools require more assistance and where their preservation is more important; but all the same the Government is probably wise. London obviously requires special treatment. The problem is a particularly difficult one. As much as any School Board, that of London has earned our gratitude and excited our distrust. It has earned our gratitude by a zeal for education, and has aroused our distrust by the quite unnecessary position that it has taken up concerning Church schools. To introduce into a measure—

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itself necessarily complicated and thorny—provisions which must wound the *amour-propre* of both the London County Council and the London School Board, would not have facilitated the passage of the Bill, which many circumstances will render singularly difficult. Moreover, as Mr. Balfour said, it will be a great advantage to approach a scheme for London 'with all the advantage which the discussion upon the present measure gives us, with all the additional knowledge which the debates in this House and the controversy in the country are sure to throw upon this most difficult subject.'

Let us now approach the main provisions of the Bill. The first point is the creation of a single authority to deal with all education within a given area. This area is the county, or the administrative county. The 'Local Education Authority' is to be a Committee of the County or Borough Council, appointed as to one half its members at least by the Council, as to the other half according to a scheme drawn up by the Council and approved of by the Board of Education. On these points it is not necessary to dwell. Opinion has become nearly unanimous among all who have carefully thought out the question. However much they may be able to delegate their powers (and it is certainly desirable that they should be able), it is necessary that there should be one authority which may co-ordinate all education and prevent either waste or overlapping, which may unify into one system (not necessarily a uniform system) Voluntary and Board, secondary, primary, and technical schools, evening continuation classes, and so on. There is a determined minority which adheres to the demand for direct election, but as their motives are clearly purely partisan and sectarian they may be dismissed. To this unification of system the following exception is allowed. Every borough with a population over 10,000, or every urban district with a population over 20,000, may (acting exactly in the same way through an Education Committee) manage its own primary schools absolutely, and its higher schools concurrently with the County Council. They will rate themselves independently for elementary education, and will be able to rate themselves to the extent of 1*d.* in the pound for higher education, in addition, as we

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understand it, to the county rate. School Boards will, after the adoption of this Act, cease to exist. Those in rural districts will disappear absolutely; those in urban districts and small towns will disappear or be merged in the Local Authority, as the Council may desire; those in the county boroughs will be merged in the Local Education Authority.

There will be some feeling of regret, to a certain extent legitimate, at this suppression of bodies which have often done excellent work, even if they have also needlessly complicated the situation. But there is really no need for that. The machinery will be simply taken over by the new Authority. Most of the members of the Board—all those, in fact, who have done good work in education—will naturally become members of the new Education Committees. The loss will be more apparent than real.

The practical result will be that in each county, in each county borough, and in some other boroughs, there will be an Education Authority which will mainly consist of persons appointed because of their interest in education, who will devote themselves to making the best use they can of the educational opportunities of the locality, and developing education in the way in which the district most needs it.

Before we pass on there is one point we must notice. The rate for higher education is limited to *2d.*; but the Local Government Board may by a provisional order allow a higher rate. This is probably the best solution of a difficulty. We believe ourselves that as the Education Authority is not elected *ad hoc*, and as the duty of imposing the rate is vested not in the Committee but in the Council itself, it may be trusted not to impose too high a rate. At the same time it is desirable from many points of view, in the interests of education as well as of economy, that the new bodies should not be too adventurous, too ready to interfere with vested interests, or to spend money, and that every opportunity should be given for voluntary acts of public spirit. There are endowments which might be made available. It will often be advantageous if the buildings of the city or the country school are erected by public subscriptions, even if the rates assist in its support. We do not want an organization of

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education to hinder public benevolence, but to utilize and direct it.

We pass on now to Elementary Education. It is hardly necessary for us to say much about Voluntary schools, as the treatment of them is almost exactly what was demanded by the Church authorities. The following is the clause in question:

'8. (1.) The local education authority shall maintain and keep efficient all public elementary schools within their area which are necessary, subject, in the case of a school not provided by them, to the following conditions:—

'(*a.*) The managers of the school shall carry out any directions of the local education authority as to the secular instruction to be given in the school.

'(*b.*) The local education authority shall have power to inspect the school, and the accounts of the managers shall be subject to audit by that authority.

'(*c.*) The consent of the local education authority shall be required to the appointment of teachers, but that consent shall not be withheld except on educational grounds.

'(*d.*) The managers of the school shall, out of funds provided by them, keep the school house in good repair, and make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as may be reasonably required by the local education authority.

'(*e.*) The local education authority shall have the right of appointing such persons as they think fit to be additional managers, so that the number of the persons so appointed, if more than one, does not exceed one third of the whole number of managers.

'(2.) If any question arises under this section between the local education authority and the managers of a school, that question shall be determined by the Board of Education, and compliance with this section shall be one of the conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain a Parliamentary grant.

'(3.) The grant under the Voluntary Schools Act, 1897, in respect of any schools maintained by a local education authority, shall, instead of being distributed by the Board of Education, be paid by that Board to that authority, and shall be applied by the authority in aid of the expenses incurred by them under this Part of this Act.'

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We may say quite clearly that on the whole we have nothing to complain of. We have already maintained that in return for special management it is quite legitimate to demand that the managers should provide and maintain the buildings, for the church to which they belong will have the use of them for any purpose they may desire out of school hours. They would have to keep in repair a building for their Sunday school if they had not a day school. On the other hand, the complaint that the Local Authority could not have effective control is absurd. As Lord Percy said in the House of Commons: 'The Local Authority would get a far greater control, from the fact that it could refuse every shilling of public aid to any school which did not come up to its own idea of the standard of efficiency.'

It has been suggested that the appointment of one third of the managers by the Local Authority will be so ineffective as to be useless, and had better be given up. We do not think this is so at all. In many parishes the Church school will have to provide the education of a small body of Non-conformists; it will conduce very much to the feeling that they are treated perfectly fairly if there is on the governing body of the school even one independent member, appointed by the Local Authority or some other public body.

There are three points we wish to discuss. The first deals with school management. We hope that there will be no attempt on the part of the Local Authority in any case to manage its own schools. Those who have served on School Boards know only too well that one of the disadvantages of the system in the large towns has been that the Board have attempted to manage all the schools. The managers appointed under § 6 of the new Act ought to be as much real managers as the managers of the Voluntary schools. Each school or small group of schools should have its body of managers who, subject to an appeal to the Local Authority, appoint and dismiss its teachers, who exercise constant personal supervision over the discipline, and are as well known in the school as most clergymen are in the National schools. Moreover, this body of managers, whether for one school or for a group of schools, should in

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part, at any rate, be representatives of the Parish or the District Council.

By § 15 full powers of delegation are given.

'A local education authority—

'(*a*) May make arrangements with the council of any county, borough, district, or parish, whether a local education authority or not, for the exercise by the council, on such terms and subject to such conditions as may be agreed on, of any powers of the authority in respect of the control or management of any school or college within the area of the council.'

Acting under the authority of the County Council, the District Council will regain its power (if desired) of a School Attendance Committee which has been taken away by § 6. They or the Parish Council will be able to appoint either the whole or a portion of the Board of Managers for the 'school or schools provided by the Local Authority' and the representative of the 'Local Authority' on the Board of Management of 'schools not provided by Local Authority.' There are quite ample powers of delegation to Local Authorities in the Bill, and the complaints which have been raised as to the large area over which the Local Authority will have power are not justified.

On one point on which it was expected there might be changes there is complete and absolute silence. There is no attempt to deal with the Cowper-Temple clause; there is nothing corresponding to Clause 27; there is no opportunity given to modify the religious teaching in any school, Board or Voluntary, for the sake of the parents. In many ways this is exceedingly wise. A great cause of controversy and of bitter opposition to the Bill is removed. Moreover, very few people really desired a change which would be fair all round. A good many Nonconformists would have liked to get a place in Church schools, but were quite determined to keep the clergy out of Board schools; a good many clergy were looking forward to getting into Board schools, but there were many who resented the Nonconformist teacher coming into their schools—they said they had conscientious objections. Moreover, had the clergy ever realized what might have been entailed upon them if they had had to undertake the duty,

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by themselves or through others, of providing religious teaching in the Board schools? To deal with the Cowper-Temple clause is not necessary for the Bill, and therefore probably the Government were well advised to leave out such a contentious topic. If there arose strong opinion in the country against the present system it might be repealed at any time by a very short Act.

But this omission leads to a defect, not, we believe, so serious as some people imagine, but still a practical defect. In towns or thickly populated areas the proposed arrangements will work, and probably work well. There will be quite enough children to make it possible to provide all the schools that are necessary. The Church will always be able, if it likes and will make an effort, to have its own schools; so will the Roman Catholics; so will any body of Nonconformists who are not quite a small minority; and a school provided by the Local Authority (we hope that some more convenient phrase will be evolved) would supplement voluntary effort and provide at any rate a colourless school both for small minorities and also for those who, being satisfied with undenominational teaching, wish to avoid the necessity of providing their own schools. In all towns where this Act is adopted it will practically solve the problem, and it will do it in the best way, because the existence of comparatively speaking small schools in the town attached to a church or chapel, with far greater opportunities of personal influence and care, are essential as a corrective for the large barrack-like Board schools, however efficient they may be. With our enormous population and the determination to meet the needs of every class, an immense amount of mere system in education is necessary. If Church and similar schools will only partially counteract the bad side of this influence it will be an immense national gain.

But in country districts the Act will not quite meet the difficulty. It will very often, but it will not entirely; and here Dr. Macnamara discovered, if he exaggerated, a flaw. In many country districts there are quite small minorities. In some parishes church and chapel are almost equally divided. In most cases this will not make much difference, for with the additional guarantee of fairness supplied by the power of

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the Local Authority the minority will be content. But in some cases this will not be so. More will be demanded; and it will be most unfortunate if, for example, in a village of 100 children there should be a Church school with fifty children, and a 'school provided by the Local Authority' with fifty. In the country we want combination, not division. Would it not be possible to introduce a clause giving the Local Authority power to arrange in such cases for the different bodies of children receiving instruction in accordance with the wishes of their parents? It is often done by voluntary agreement. We know of a village, for example, where all the Roman Catholic children regularly receive what instruction the priest desires to give during the time of religious instruction, although not in the school buildings. A very little pressure would make such arrangement possible almost everywhere, and would prevent that multiplication of small schools which would be disastrous. In many cases, even as it is, the combination of small country schools would be desirable.

We have left to the end one clause in the Bill which is of great importance: that which makes the adoption of the part of the Bill relating to Elementary Education optional. It is quite easy to conjecture the causes which may have led to the insertion of this clause. But whatever they may be, the clause itself is bad. There are of course in the Bill great opportunities for the exercise of option. The Local Authorities may do little or nothing, if they like, with regard to Secondary Education; they may take a great deal of power into their own hands, or they may delegate it; the constitution of the Local Authority may vary. On all these questions it is wise to leave much to the locality. We do not want uniformity. But on the question of adopting the part relating to Primary Education—that is, of assisting Voluntary schools—it is not wise or statesmanlike to leave room for controversy. We wish to do away with religious discussion; but until the Act is adopted there will be religious controversy in every Municipal Council, in every County Council, in every municipal election. Once make it quite clear that Voluntary schools have to be placed on equal terms, and there will be absolute acquiescence. Each body will set itself to work to carry out

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the Act in a practical way. There will be an end to controversy. We can only endorse the words of Sir Richard Jebb, of Sir William Anson, and almost every other speaker on that side in the House, and demand that this clause making optional the adoption of the part of the Act dealing with Primary Education should be withdrawn, and controversy closed by finally putting Voluntary schools on the same basis as others.

We have sketched the main features of the Bill and criticised such points as seem to us defective. We must say one word about the policy of the Church with regard to it. In the first place, we must make it clear that the power of option must be taken away. The Local Authority must be compelled to adopt the portions of the Act relating to Primary Education. If that is not done, the religious controversy will not be solved, it will be embittered. If that is made clear, we must accept the Bill. There must be no hesitation or half-heartedness. Whether we approach Education from the National or the Church point of view, we are not in the least likely to get anything better. We desire its amendment in certain particulars, but we must not allow our desire for amendment to interfere with our acceptance of it. Either as providing a homogeneous National system, or as giving substantial justice to the demands of Voluntary schools, it marks a definite advance. What it does will not need to be undone, even if in its present form it needs amplification. We must put clearly and definitely forward such amendments as we desire and for which we may reasonably ask, but we must also make it clear that, granted the option clause is withdrawn, we wish to have the Act, and that the Government will have the support of the Church in passing it. We hardly venture to expect the Bishops to take any decided step or openly to express their opinions. We have received singularly little assistance from them in the past, and we do not hope for much in the future. But let us make it quite clear. They must exert themselves if the Bill is to be passed. The Government can do it, and they will do it if we make it clear that it is wished for. They will not if we are apathetic. The lead must be given by the Bishops, and that at once;

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and during the next month every ruridecanal conference and every body of Voluntary school managers in the country should discuss the Bill.

But something more will be required. Supposing this Act is passed, it will be necessary to overhaul our schools everywhere, and to introduce a new element of system and order. There are many questions which will arise which will demand concerted action. There will be the application of endowments devoted to religious education. Our trust deeds will require overhauling. They provide for the election of managers by subscribers, but as most schools will have no regular subscribers some new method must be devised. Let those elected under our trust deeds be in the future, as they have been in the past, Church people, but let them represent the parents as well as the gentry. Then this Act will mean a gradual overhauling of our school buildings. There are quite sufficient guarantees that the Board of Education will not allow unreasonable demands, or too hasty interference, but all the same we shall gradually have to make our buildings suitable. In many cases some combination among neighbouring Voluntary schools will be desirable, statesmanship in deciding where a new school should be erected, or an old school given up, or two schools very near one another combined, so as to make a single efficient school. We shall need, in fact, statesmanship and combination. Parishes must not be allowed to be isolated. Arrangements must be made to allow neighbouring schools to be grouped together. An inefficient parson must not be allowed to ruin and lose his parish schools. Churchmen and the Church must take their part in providing the Secondary schools needed. If this Act is passed it will mean a complete overhauling of our schools throughout the country, and we must ask the Bishops as a body, and in each diocese, to take the lead in this work so far as the Church goes. It is exactly what their position as statesmen and leaders demands.

But will the Act pass? So far as we can judge, it will, provided that the Government are determined that it shall. Its general principles approve themselves to the bulk of the Unionist party, to Churchmen, to Roman Catholics, to the

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Irish party, and to the greater number of education experts. On the Liberal side of the House there are probably from fifty to a hundred conscientious partisans who will oppose it with energy and bitterness. They command in the country an admirable organization for the manufacture of opinion. They are irreconcilables, and, as we believe that the Government proposals are fair and just to all, will have to be voted down. The bulk of the Liberal party will try and prevent the Government from passing a measure which will increase their reputation, but many of them will oppose it without conviction. There will also be a considerable amount of resentment at anything which will increase the rates, and that partly on the Unionist side. There will be the opposition of incessant amendment, and an attempt will be made to prevent this Act from being passed by wasting time over other matters. But if the Government mean it, they will be able to pass it. Only they must show determination, and must be well backed by those who desire the measure.

SHORT NOTICES.

I. Old Testament.

The Grammar of Prophecy. By R. B. Girdlestone, M.A. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1901.)

Canon Girdlestone's reputation as a conscientious and independent-minded student of the Old Testament is well known. Whatever he writes on the subject of prophecy is sure to be suggestive, based as it is on a peculiarly minute acquaintance with the text of Scripture. In the present volume he deals with the general phenomena and conditions of prophecy, and arrives at conclusions very similar on the whole to those of such a book as Riehm's *Messianic Prophecy*, though we have discovered no reference to that or any other German work on the subject. With most that Canon Girdlestone has to say about prophecy in general—the prophetic calling and gifts, prophetic forms of thought, the conditions and limitations of prophecy, &c.—we find ourselves in substantial agreement. In his clear statement of the 'ideas concerning God' implied in Biblical prediction, the writer is at his best, and there is a useful chapter on 'Recurrent prophetic formulæ' which we should have

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liked to see expanded. At the same time we are bound to say that Canon Girdlestone writes under certain limitations which seriously detract from the permanent value of his book.

In the first place, we think that he assigns too decided a prominence to what is after all a subordinate element in Biblical prophecy —the element of prediction. There is a tendency throughout the book to confuse the notion of 'prophecy' with that of 'prediction.' The first chapter indeed opens with the statement that 'An ideal Biblical prophecy may be expected to have the following characteristics: (i) It plainly foretells things to come, and is not clothed in the ambiguities which we observe in heathen oracles and vaticinations. (ii) It is designed and intended to be a prediction, and is not like the suggestion of Caiphas, which might be called an unwitting prophecy, &c.

Canon Girdlestone allows that 'many Biblical prophecies do not come up to the ideal,' but he is disposed to attribute a greater clearness and precision to particular predictions than the general phenomena of prophecy seem to warrant. He is in fact a convinced believer in literal interpretation, and in the concluding sentence of his book he quotes with cordial approval a statement of Dr. Bonar, '"Literal, if possible," is, I believe, the only maxim that will carry you right through the Word of God from Genesis to Revelation.'

Very naturally, perhaps, the bias towards literalism leads Mr. Girdlestone to lay special stress on the New Testament predictions relating to the Parousia and the Millennium. We venture to quote a passage which illustrates the literalistic habit of the writer's mind:

'Granting that the Millennium is to come, and that Israel is to be a restored people, and that certain saints will at the same time attain to the First Resurrection, will earthly affairs be carried on as now? Will there be masters and servants, coal miners and scavengers, railways and trams? Will the elect saints rule over (*i. e.* exert a spiritual influence over) the non-elect people who happen to be still living in different parts of the world, certain cities (or shall we say *parishes*?) being allotted to each? Will the Jewish sacrificial system be restored? Will the risen Patriarchs be visibly introduced into their promised inheritance? And how will it be with all these people at the final judgment? These are not a hundredth part of the questions which occur to us as we contemplate the prospect. But our absolute ignorance need not shake our convictions. Whatever God ordains will speedily seem natural.'

We can only remark that, in our opinion, the defects of this book arise from the fact that whereas Hebraic prediction is richly coloured by the power of a vivid and poetic imagination, the spirit of literalism lacks the very quality that is needed for the sympathetic interpretation

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of the prophetic oracles. It is only consistent with this habit of mind that, in dealing with historical points, Canon Girdlestone treats the text of the Old Testament as accurate even in details. It is astonishing to find a modern student arguing that, if Gen. vi. 3 refers to the future occurrence of the flood, 'then Noah was four hundred and eighty years old when the Divine decision was declared, and Lamech had one hundred and fifteen years yet to live, and both must have known what was shortly to come to pass.'

Our second criticism of Mr. Girdlestone's book is a more comprehensive one. As a serious contribution to the interpretation of prophecy, it is vitiated by the fact that the writer practically sets aside altogether without discussion the results even of the most moderate 'higher criticism.' 'The books of Scripture,' he says, 'are taken as a faithful record, their traditional dates, relative positions, and authorship being regarded as trustworthy in the main, though calling for modification here and there.' Thus the latter half of the book of Isaiah is treated, at least provisionally, as the work of Isaiah himself; no doubts apparently disturb Canon Girdlestone's mind as to the traditional date and authenticity of the book of Daniel; Moses is said to 'take up' the blessing of Jacob; even the account of the antediluvian age is accepted as in the main historic; the actual personality of Abel and of Enoch is assumed as unquestionable. 'In the antediluvian age,' we are told, 'we may detect a line of prophetic influence from Adam onwards, through Enoch, Lamech, and Noah.'

Canon Girdlestone has a perfect right to hold his own opinion on these points; but it is necessary to point out that Biblical students cannot expect to derive substantial help from a book which represents the views of the straitest sect of the pre-critical school. A fair and philosophic estimate of prophecy can only be based on a scientific conception both of history and of the conditions which affect the growth of literature.

The Churchman's Bible—Isaiah, Vol. I., i.–xxxix. Explained by W. E. Barnes, D.D. (London: Methuen and Co., 1901.)

This little book is well adapted to fulfil the purpose of *The Churchman's Bible* series, and to be 'of service to the general reader in the practical and devotional study of Holy Scripture.' After an Introduction, brief yet adequate in the main to the purpose in hand, there follows the explanation of the text of Isa. i.–xxxix. A short summary of the historical occasion of each prophecy prefaces the text of the prophecy according to the Authorised Version, with necessary corrections in the form of foot-notes. The text is divided into

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convenient sections, followed by brief expositions. These are framed 'to exhibit and emphasize the permanent truths and principles underlying the Sacred Text, and to indicate the bearing of these truths and principles on the spiritual, the moral, and the social life of the present day.'

Within so brief a compass it was doubtless imperative that the writer should not attempt more than a bare statement of the historical occasion of particular prophecies, without discussion of alternative theories. Yet it might have been well in certain cases to have indicated that the occasion of the prophecy has been debated, and that the Isaianic authorship is at any rate highly doubtful. As it is, the only prophecies noted as non-Isaianic are the prophecy against Babylon (xiii. 1–xiv. 23), the position of which Dr. Barnes believes to be due 'to the fact that Isaiah's song of the Fall of Sennacherib (xiv. 4–21) has been incorporated in it,' and the prophecy against Edom (xxxiv.), which is placed with some hesitation after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. Other debatable prophecies, and notably Chh. xxiv.–xxvii., are assigned to occasions during the lifetime of Isaiah without allusion to the existence of any other view. The scheme of chronology adopted by Dr. Barnes makes the accession of Hezekiah as late as B.C. 716–5, and assigns the great deliverance from Assyria, not to the invasion of B.C. 702–1, but to a second invasion which (without the authority of the Assyrian inscriptions) is postulated as having taken place in B.C. 687–6. In order to adapt this scheme to the length of time assigned by 2 Kings to the reigns of the later kings of Judah, the improbable suggestion is made that Manasseh was associated with his father from B.C. 702–1, and his reign of fifty-five years reckoned from this year.

The Student's Handbook to the Psalms. By the late JOHN SHARPE, D.D. Second Edition. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896.)

THIS edition is prefaced by an interesting memoir of the author by Dr. Sinker, the Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. If the reader is unable to agree with the extreme conservative attitude which Dr. Sharpe adopts with regard to the date and authorship of the Psalms as a whole, yet he cannot fail to admire and to profit by the wealth of material which has been brought together, and the lucidity and suggestiveness of its classification. The chapters on the structure and characteristics of Hebrew poetry could scarcely be better, and the same remark applies to those chapters which deal with the poetic imagery and treatment of nature, and the topographical and historical elements in the Psalms. The writer states in his Preface that he has mainly in view those students who are

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unacquainted with Hebrew; and for such the rough renderings which he gives to illustrate the character of Hebrew rhythm (pp. 2 *sq.*) are singularly happy. Among the later chapters we may notice Ch. xvi. on 'Moral Difficulties and Moral Teaching of the Psalms' as full of valuable considerations. The Appendix, which gathers together the quotations from the Psalms in the New Testament, is likely to prove useful to students.

Samuel and his Age: a Study in the Constitutional History of Israel. By GEORGE C. M. DOUGLAS, D.D. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1901.)

DR. DOUGLAS writes as a staunch opponent of the application of critical methods to the Old Testament literature. He regards the Samuel narratives as having been written down in their entirety very shortly after the occurrence of the events which they narrate, and he steadfastly refuses to countenance the theory of a double series of narratives, the one relatively late as compared with the other, which critical investigation has elaborated, *e.g.*, in the case of the account of Saul's election to the kingdom. A fair conception of Dr. Douglas's position may perhaps be gathered from his suggestion (pp. 82 *sq.*) that Samuel 'read the books which we know under the names of Joshua and Judges,' or 'may in fact have been the editor or compiler of these books.'

Dr. Douglas is also opposed to the employment of textual criticism for the elucidation of difficult passages in the Hebrew text, and generally attaches little or no importance to the variations of the LXX, even where it would seem that this version points the way to a simple and obvious correction of a corrupt passage. Points of textual criticism receive notice in foot-notes throughout the book.

The Songs of Degrees or Gradual Psalms, interleaved with Notes from Neale and Littledale's Commentary. By A. B. B. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.)

THE title of this work sufficiently explains its contents—a series of brief reflections which the writer has gathered together as helpful to a devotional study of Pss. cxx.–cxxxiv. These have been published at the request of friends, and should prove useful to those to whom the large commentary from which they are drawn is not available.

Did Moses write the Pentateuch after all? By F. E. SPENCER, M.A. A cheap edition, with a new Preface. (London: Elliot Stock, 1901.)

IN this book the writer sets himself to combat the main conclusions of historical criticism as to the structure and authorship of the Penta-

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teuch, as set forth by Professor Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* The book is written in a bright and readable style, and the fact that Mr. Spencer does not for the most part deal in detail with the minutiæ of criticism is likely to render his book popular with those who approach the subject without a previous careful study of the grounds upon which the critical opinion is based. The book is divided into three lengthy chapters: Chapter 1 deals with the history, Chapter 2 with the legislation, and Chapter 3 is 'an attempt to meet some difficulties by certain historical aphorisms.' Each chapter is furnished with detached notes. Of these the most lengthy are Chapter 1, note C, 'The unreality of the supposed documents or sources. The character and phraseology of P'; and Chapter 2, note B, 'The authorship of Deuteronomy.' These two notes form the most important part of the book; and the reader who is in earnest in desiring to gain some insight into the subject under discussion can scarcely do better than to read them carefully in connexion with a painstaking study of Dr. Driver's chapter on the Hexateuch in his *Introduction* above mentioned.

Mr. Spencer seems to have no conception of the strength of the cumulative argument for the composite authorship of the Pentateuch. The narrative of some length which he selects in order to examine and reject the theory of its composite character is the account of Joseph's treatment at the hands of his brethren (p. 61). He might have chosen for examination the far more salient instances provided by the narratives of the Creation, the Flood, or the rebellion of Korah, and of Dathan and Abiram. Again, such striking examples of composite narrative as the double explanation of names (Beer-sheba, Mahanaim, Isaac, Edom, Joseph, &c.) are passed by unnoticed. An instance of the exigencies to which the writer is sometimes driven in his endeavour to disprove the existence of a double ...ion may be seen on p. 69, where in dealing with Ex. xxxiii. 7 *sqq.* ...lier tradition of 'the ten... ...eeting') he attempts to explain ... of the Hebrew imperf... ...se not as frequentative (R.V., ... take' &c.), but as t... ...al representation of a series of ...ions in the past—... ...hout parallel in a lengthy prose

... chapter which ... ... the legislation the writer's ...ispose of disc... ...etween the different codes is ...uate. The r... ... 'the Book of the Covenant' ... for the sett... ...an altar in every place where ...ds His na... .... 24), as contrasted with the ...euteronor... ...rously limits sacrificial worship ...anctuary... ...c.); the regulations with regard

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to the office and maintenance of the Levites as they differ in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly code; and the distinction of the Priestly code between priest and Levite which is unknown to Deuteronomy—these and other discrepancies should have been examined at length in the light of history, and are not to be explained away by the brief and superficial examination accorded to them by Mr. Spencer.

The reader must not be misled into attaching weight to Mr. Spencer's list of antiquated words in the Pentateuch. The fact that a large number of words are peculiar to the Pentateuch—and of these the greater part technical terms referring to Tabernacle furniture, sacrifice, &c.—does not prove, or even suggest, that these words are antiquated and passed later into disuse. It must be remembered that the Pentateuch forms one-quarter of the whole Old Testament literature, and that that literature is so limited in extent that if any single book of any length be taken a number of words and phrases may be collected which do not happen to occur elsewhere. On the other hand, no one will wish to dispute that the Pentateuch contains elements of extreme antiquity, and that these are the finest examples which we possess of the 'golden age' of Hebrew literature.

The Acrostic Poems of the Old Testament. An English version, metrical and alphabetical. By J. U. GLANVILLE, M.A. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1901.)

THIS book is an attempt—not very successful—to reproduce the structural peculiarity of the Acrostic Psalms and other similar passages of the Old Testament. The necessary twenty-two English equivalents to the Hebrew letters have been obtained by omission of X and Z and by 'assuming the identity of I and J, and of U and V.' Mr. Glanville has, we think, attempted a task to which he is not quite equal, but parts of his book seem to us fairly good, and in any case the attempt was worth making. The main blemish of the work is the inevitable sacrifice of poetical expression at certain points. To what straits a translator may be reduced is illustrated by a passage from the 119th Psalm:

'Quest in Thy words shall from the simple mind obscurity and doubt dispel.
Querkened, I gasp for breath; and sweet relief in Thy commandments comes at last.
Quemeful and kindly, turn Thy Face on me, as aye on them that love Thee well.
Queachy my foothold till I plant my steps in Thy Word, when lo, peril's past.'

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II. Recent Sermons, &c.

1. *Sermons preached before the University of Oxford.* Edited by the Rev. Ll. J. M. Bebb, M.A. (London: George Allen, 1901.)
2. *Thoughts on our Lord's Temptation.* A Study for the Season of Lent. By the Rev. J. R. Palmer. (Oxford and London: Parker and Co., 1901.)
3. *Testifyings and Pleadings.* By the Rev. H. W. Holden. (London: Skeffington, 1901.)
4. *Grace and Calling.* By the same.
5. *Guidance for Men.* By the same.
6. *In many Keys.* Thirty Sermons on Thirty Psalms. By the Rev. H. J. Wilmot-Buxton, M.A. (London: Skeffington, 1901.)
7. *Apostolic Optimism and other Sermons.* By the Rev. J. H. Jowett, M.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)
8. *The Conflict: or Forewarned, Forearmed.* By the Rev. S. Phillips, M.A. (London: Wells Gardner, 1901.)

1. The abolition of the Sunday afternoon University Sermon at Oxford, and of the practice, earlier than the Laudian statutes of 1636, of summoning all graduates in Holy Orders to preach in turn appears to have suggested to an enterprising publisher that a collection of University Sermons by various preachers would form a saleable volume. By a happy choice he secured in Mr. Bebb an editor who was not only able to make a judicious selection from the sermons which were printed in the *Oxford Magazine* between 1883 and 1899, but could also write a capital 'History of the Institution' of University Sermons by way of preface. There are in all twenty-three sermons in the volume, and of these the first twelve, Mr. Bebb says, deal with the apprehension, the content, and the expression of Christian truth. They are followed by three sermons on Faith, which make a suitable transition to the concluding sermons on practical aspects of religion in the individual and in the Christian Society. As Mr. Bebb justly observes, many of these sermons may claim to make a real contribution to the solution of the difficulties with which they deal, or to give a new standpoint from which to face them. The Bishop of London preached two of the sermons, one on The Eye of the Soul, and the other on The Divine Call. The Bishop of Rochester preached one, on The Spell of Christ. Two sermons are selected from those preached by the Bishop of Worcester, on The Permanence of Christianity and The Spiritual Religion. Dr. Merry's sermons are The strength of God and Gehazi. Mr. Beeching is represented by a sermon on God's Mercy and Truth. The Master of the Temple is the author of two sermons on Novelty and The Faith of the Saints.

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Archdeacon Wilson has a sermon on Gain through Loss, and the Rector of Exeter two on Patience in Judgment and Christian Soberness. The Bishop of Stepney preached one of the sermons on The Pride of Words. The Warden of Keble, alone in the list, is represented by three sermons, on Miracle and Law, Faith and Law, and Intercessory Prayer. The subject of the Head Master of Rugby's sermon is Faith and Belief, and that of the Bishop of Liverpool is The Indwelling of the Spirit. Dr. Stubbs preached the sermon entitled The True-hearted. The Dean of Lincoln preached on Pride, the Bishop of Hereford on Spiritual Kinship in Christ, and the Bishop of Newcastle on Speaking one to another. It is impossible in the space at our disposal to comment in detail upon these sermons. We have mentioned the titles of the sermons and the names of the preachers as the shortest possible way of indicating what a variety of subject, treatment, and point of view may be expected in the volume. We may add that to an academic mind of an older generation the sermons would have sounded alarmingly practical, and would have seemed to emphasize new and surprising social aspects of the Gospel. On the other hand the elegant Greek and Latin quotations and the air of recommending the study of the classics as lifting the mind above the common herd—characteristic of the older sermons before the University—are as rare as academical undergraduate dress in the Oxford streets. Many interesting details have been collected by Mr. Bebb in his 'History of the Institution.' He tells us that the earliest surviving University sermon was preached by Magister Herdeby, an Augustinian friar in the time of Edward III., he gives particulars of some notable sermons, and an account of the preaching turns. But in saying that a hymn is sung before the sermon, he might well have added a few words on the Hymnal which was prepared by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in 1872; and we miss an allusion to the rebuke of the preacher who complained that the bedels withdrew to the alehouse then opposite to the west door of St. Mary's, and added 'even now are they returning wiping their mouths with the backs of their hands.'[1] Many small points, however, are not forgotten, such as that at assize sermons the preacher is conducted at once to the pulpit to await the arrival of the judge, a custom which in the case of the present writer led to the receipt of the usual invitation to dine with the judge after he had duly established himself in the pulpit. On two other points we must add one word. Mr. Bebb wisely refers to the popular evening

[1] Compare Burgon's *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, i. 398. Many details about the sermons are scattered about in these volumes.

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sermons at St. Mary's to guard against an erroneous inference which might be drawn from the cessation of the afternoon sermon, and bravely oblivious of the piecemeal disendowment of the Church which has been going on in Oxford for so many years, he asks, is it too much to hope that the money which the University Chest will save by the new statute may be applied to some theological purpose? Yes, we regretfully reply, it is too much.

2. Mr. Palmer's reflections on our Lord's temptation are of great theological and devotional value, and in repeating the plea which we urged a 'year ago,[1] that the practical teaching of Lent may be based on solid dogmatic foundation we are glad to be able to add, such as is here laid by Mr. Palmer. He divides the subject into a treatment of our Lord's sympathy with the tempted, and the necessity, nature, warnings and encouragements of His temptation, with collects and prayers for use in meditation, and appendices on our Lord's state of humiliation, fasting, the Christian seasons and other topics. These appendices might have been much enriched by a few good references to great writers.

3–5. Mr. Holden's three volumes contain parochial sermons and instructions which are intended to deepen the religious life of nominal Christians on sound Prayer Book principles, and in one of them, *Guidance for Men*, will be found a useful sermon on the *Quicunque vult* as the defence of worship. In the same volume we are sorry that a line from the *Dream of Gerontius* is not quoted with the better reading, 'Should strive afresh against *their* foe.' *Testifyings and Pleadings* is chiefly an exposition of the teaching of St. Paul, summed up in the phrase 'in Christ,' and *Grace and Calling* sets forth the teaching of the Church Catechism upon the Covenant of Grace.

6. Mr. Wilmot-Buxton's sermons on the Psalms show him to be able to write sermons which pass muster as being of ordinary merit, but we cannot say that they deserve to be studied, and preachers who think of using them in the pulpit as they stand and announcing them as Mr. Buxton's must be told that they can probably preach as well themselves with very little trouble, and that if they are pressed for time there are better volumes of sermons than this for their selection.

7. Mr. Jowett is a great man among what are called the Free Churches, and has no hesitation in speaking freely about 'the fine, genial optimism of the Apostle Paul.' The sermons are not without some shrewd remarks on human nature, and some useful instruction on manners, but are not doctrinally serviceable. The last

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 102, pp. 528–9.

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address, however, on the secrets of effective preaching is well worth reading, and in the sermons themselves some good illustrations of this address will be found.

8. Mr. Phillips's modest little book, as written by an experienced parish priest, is admirably designed to help boys as they leave home for the first time to meet various moral and spiritual difficulties with success.

Saints and Worthies. Sermons by JOHN HUNTLEY SKRINE. (London : Skeffington and Son, 1901.)

THIS is a bright and attractive little volume of sermons, containing scarcely a page that is dull or commonplace, and much that is suggestive and stimulating. The various subjects lend themselves to a certain degree of imaginative treatment, and Mr. Skrine's essentially poetic mind finds unsuspected teaching in the most prosaic details of the Scripture narrative. A good instance is the sermon on the 'contention' between Paul and Barnabas. There was both loss and gain, observes Mr. Skrine, in the dissolution of their fellowship:

'It is like enough that neither found again in life a friend to fill the place of the lost one, and many may have been the hours in which Paul, worn with persecution by the Judaisers, sighed for the repose which once he found in the large and generous nature of the Son of Consolation; many also the hours when Barnabas, labouring alone, and growing dulled with work, must have longed for that fire which had burned so near him, so ready to render its heat and light to his own less vehement nature, while he and his old friend trod one road together.'

On the other hand,

'was it not even positively well for Paul to be apart from Barnabas? Barnabas, who was the older Christian, and had been Paul's introducer to the Twelve, must have in some degree overshadowed Paul's authority, and so far have restrained its energy. And may it not be that the very largeness of mind and sympathy which were the gifts of Barnabas stood somewhat in the way of Paul's cause, the preaching of the freedom of the Gospel?'

The brief sermon on 'Ancilla Domini' contains a wise paragraph on the true function of 'passiveness' in religion. Such passiveness, says Mr. Skrine, 'may be the best way of fulfilling a destiny which God has planned. . . . We need not less zeal, but more love; not less action, but more thought; not less force, but more devoutness; more sympathy, less ambition; more meditations, less fuss; more readiness to honour character above achievement; more belief in spiritual agencies than in practical.' A good instance of the preacher's spiritual discernment is to be found in the sermon on 'All Saints,' which contains a beautiful appreciation of the Apocalypse. We may

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also heartily commend the reverent reserve of the discourse on angels. Many intelligent Churchmen, we venture to say, experience a certain shock in seeing a representation in a church window of 'Saint Uriel.' We agree with Mr. Skrine in his deprecation of such undue definiteness. As he says, 'If prophets have ventured to give names to angels and to describe actions of theirs, let us humbly understand that in doing so they have only been bringing more under the grasp of our minds this truth of God's presence and action.' 'When we say there are angels . . . we *may* be saying what is literal matter of fact . . . but certainly, and with no may-be in it, we are saying that God does really come upon earth and does take part in our mortal lives and histories.'

The last three sermons on modern worthies are very beautiful and touching. We are grateful to Mr. Skrine for raising a worthy literary monument to Mary Rogers, the stewardess of the *Stella*.

The Marks of the Church, and other Sermons. By BARTON R. V. MILLS, M.A. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1901.)

WE hope it is not unkind to express some surprise that Mr. Mills should have thought it necessary to publish these sermons. Most of them were addressed to hearers 'of the class from which a Sunday congregation in a small country town is usually drawn.' Some were delivered to a congregation of summer visitors at a picturesque watering-place in Cornwall. The sermons are remarkably uniform in their quality; they contain plain, sensible Church teaching, soberly and clearly expressed. If they strike the reader as somewhat dry, they are at any rate perfectly orthodox in doctrine, and really display no distinctive features to which a critic need draw attention. We must content ourselves with quoting two passages which are perhaps somewhat above the average level of the book. Thus in pleading for a right use of holidays, Mr. Mills points out that

'if this interval of rest is to be a time of spiritual as well as of bodily and mental blessing to us, we must always bear in mind what a holiday means. The very word tells us it is a *holy* day; one consecrated, set apart to higher uses than an ordinary day. So that the very worst use we could make of one would be to diminish our spiritual privileges. . . . It is with the knowledge of this need that we who are responsible for the services of this Church increase them during what is called the "holiday season," in the hope that many, the pressure of whose work perhaps hinders them at home, will now find in them increased refreshment and repose.'

Again, in speaking of 'Freedom by the Truth,' Mr. Mills very justly observes that

'if the beliefs and conduct of Christians are free, they are so by reason of their completeness. If the Christian Creed had always been taught

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in its fulness, we should never have had unbelief dignified by the name of "free-thought." It was when the Church travelled beyond her own Creeds, and sought to narrow their meaning by the interpretations of some particular place or generation, that the revolt against her authority arose. . . . It may well be that the modern craving for freedom is the means appointed by God for the emancipation of His Church from the fetters she has forged for herself.'

The thought here indicated is not new, but it is valuable, and might have been more fully developed. The passage, like many others in the book, shows that Mr. Mills has a fair share of intellectual sympathy. On the whole, however, common sense and sobriety of judgment are the merits of these sermons. They are, we fear, too plain and commonplace in style and matter to attract more than a passing attention.

Flood-tide: Sunday Evenings in a City Pulpit. By Rev. G. H. Morrison, M.A., Dundee. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)

We have only words of praise for this volume of twenty-eight sermons. Their language is clear and lucid, the subject matter is thoughtful, and there is a bright manly ring about them which must have proved very attractive to the congregations to whom they were addressed. The writer states in the preface that they are addresses 'prepared for Sunday evening after the more severe preparations for the forenoon diet of worship were got through,' and we venture to hope that the writer will see his way to publish some of his morning sermons. These seem to us to be the kind of sermon that *men* are wanting, and are of the kind to attract the intelligent townsman whose religion sits on him but lightly and who wants to be won to deeper thought.

There is but little dogmatic teaching, but much sanctified common sense, and the subjects are such as men will like. Of course a volume of sermons challenges comparison with those of the classic preachers, but much fresh thought presented in a modern form is contained in this book. In several sermons he acknowledges his debt to other preachers.

The Religious Use of the Memory, the Proportions of Life, Sincerity, Vision and Duty, Right and Wrong Use of our Past, the Larger Hospitality, and the Choked Wells seem to us to be the best in the volume. This last is on the wells which Abraham dug, but which Isaac his son found choked with sand, and the sermon has three heads: first, the wells of our fathers may get choked, then each must dig for himself to find water, and lastly, the wells, the

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truths we find, are but the old truths our fathers have used. Under the first head he instances the Bible :

'Think of the Bible. I thank God for many a heart that well is still unchoked. I am glad that there are men and women here to-night who are not ignorant, who are not afraid of the truth nor of the light, and the Word of God is still their guide. But here is a young man, and he is one of thousands, or a young woman, and she is one of hundreds—and you were trained in a home where the Bible was daily read, and you caught the flavour of it in your father's speech ; and you cannot think of your mother but you see the Bible open on her knee, and what a heroine your mother was you know. And you, O son, O daughter, of old-fashioned parents, whose shoe-latchets you are not worthy to unloose—for *you* that well of the ages has been choked. It may be doubt has done it. It may be the storm of criticism that is raging. It may be that mass of impertinent literature that is keeping us back from what is pure and good. Whatever the cause, the well of your fathers is choked for you. You never get help or strength or courage there.'

Ordination Addresses. By the Right Reverend WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., late Bishop of Oxford. Edited by the Rev. Canon HOLMES. With a portrait. (London, New York and Bombay : Longmans, 1901.)

DR. STUBBS was a very wise as well as a very learned man.[1] But he was also a very deep man, and the Englishman's reserve as to the matters which are dearest to him was extraordinarily strong in him. In his case a genial humour and a homely friendliness of speech often served to cover his wisdom, his learning and his very grave sense of the importance of things from common view. There were many of his clergy who knew that he was wise and learned, that he knew exactly what a Bishop of the Church was, and that he looked at important Church questions with eyes of far-seeing statesmanship ; but who knew at the same time that for the majority of them he was unapproachable, that the fatherly character of the episcopate would never be illustrated in their dealings with him, and that in his modesty and his shyness he would probably ward them off with a joke, and unintentionally pain them with a little fun, when they really wanted some guidance and comfort, which in his heart he was as anxious to give as they were to receive. What made the case so much more vexatious was that he was so capable of giving what was wanted : it was there, and known to be there, but it could not, on so many needy occasions, be drawn forth. It was a sad misfortune, and these ordination addresses will immensely

[1] See the article on Bishop Stubbs in the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 104, p. 280.

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strengthen the regret of a good many of his clergy that they were never allowed to know more than they did know of their remarkable Bishop. Canon Holmes is not unconscious of the fact that these addresses 'may exhibit one of the less known aspects—almost bewildering in their variety—of the Bishop's life and character.' (Pref. p. vi.) That aspect may be described as the exercise of the fatherly side of the pastoral office. The Bishop here shows himself as possessed of a minute and exhaustive knowledge of the inner conditions and the exterior needs, the dangers and the difficulties, the opportunities and the blessings, which belong to the life of a newly-ordained man. This knowledge is accompanied by guidance, the guidance of one who looks quietly and fearlessly upon the situation, who is not mistaken in his judgment, who takes the true measure of what he sees, who does not exaggerate and does not conceal, who is obviously speaking from his own experience, and who is able to impart to his hearers a sense of power bestowed, and ability given, to grapple with the conditions of ministerial life. The words in which the thoughts are clothed come from a strong conviction of the whole man that the cause of Christ is a solemn and a sacred cause, that the Church is the divine Society which has been established in this world, but not of it, for the purpose of conveying the blessings of redemption to man, that the ministry is commissioned and empowered by our Lord Himself to act as His instrument in this work, and that those who are admitted to its exercise have, and need, the grace of Holy Orders to discharge it aright. It would be hard to name anything important in a young clergyman's life which does not receive wise treatment in these pages, which, as Canon Holmes tells us, and as we can well believe, were written 'after, perhaps, more thought than would be given to apparently greater writings.'

The addresses begin with a short discourse on the inferior office of the diaconate, made great by the dignity of service. A comprehensive and searching treatment of the scope of the questions in the Ordinal follows, and the four paragraphs of the address in the Form for Ordering of Priests serve as the basis of instructions upon The Responsibility of the Call. The first of two addresses on Mission takes the three most distinct characters of our Lord's own mission, who was sent as a Teacher, as a Minister, and as the Good Shepherd, as marking the things for which men offer themselves for the ministry, and for which they are to be sent. The second is a wise instruction on the responsibility of authority and the snare of it. Two courses of addresses on the Church and the World contain a very clear statement of the truth that the Church

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is the Body of Christ, that the Church of England is the organization by which we realize our membership of that Body, and a very masterly analysis of the forces of the world, in the bad Johannine sense of that term, which would drive us away from Christ. In three addresses on the Holy Scriptures the Bishop deals, as in a more formal way he dealt in his second Charge, with some questions of very great gravity: the way in which the Bible has come to us, the spirit in which we must receive and appropriate its message, the attempt that we must make to fashion ourselves after the perfect example there portrayed, and the bearing of certain critical theories on the doctrine of the Incarnation. The Bishop's statements on this last point are exceedingly weighty and important (p. 176), and although we would gladly quote the whole passage we must content ourselves with the quotation of his summary, in which he says that 'this doctrine of the perfect possession but continued restraint of divine powers by the Son of Man during the thirty years of His mortal life does not allow of any imputation of ignorance or incapacity' (pp. 177-8). An address upon the Real Presence, after deprecating the practice of non-communicating attendance, and pointing out that Reservation, even for the sick, 'is against the rule of the Prayer Book,' dwells at some length and with great care upon the Holy Eucharist as 'the grand and effective bulwark of the doctrine of the Atonement.' Another course of addresses passes again to the personal aspects of ordination, and regards it as an office of self-dedication to the work of the Lord. And in other courses the Bishop illustrates the truth that the life of the Christian minister concentrates and accentuates all the problems of the spiritual life—the duty of apprehending the proper relation between things natural and things spiritual; difficulties about the temporal status of the Church, the unity of the Body of Christ, the conditions of religious education, the relations of science and doctrine, and the Higher Criticism of the Holy Scriptures; the rewards of faithful work; the dangers of unreality; the need of fear in the reception of divine power; the duty of example and of negative as well as positive self-surrender; the caution necessary lest we should be castaways; and the suggestive and instructive lessons of the subjective no less than the evidential aspects of St. Thomas's story.

We do not know what book we could place in the hands of an ordination candidate which would be more likely than this to impress him with the seriousness and the blessedness of his calling, and we can hardly rate too highly the value of what the Bishop has to say about the three great subjects of episcopacy, the New Testament

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conception of the unity of the Church, and the doctrine of the Sacraments—matters which those who accept the Bishop's teaching will hold very dear when they are invited to promote reunion by intercommunion.

The Church and the Nation. Charges and Addresses. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Bishop of London. Edited by LOUISE CREIGHTON. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, 1901.)

THE papers, addresses, and Charges here collected have all been previously printed, in one or two cases in newspaper reports, but for the most part in pamphlets or in reports of Church Congresses and Diocesan Conferences. The more important parts of the present volume have been noticed, sometimes at considerable length, in our pages. But it was well worth while to make this attempt to give a continuous view of Dr. Creighton's ideas on the chief questions affecting the Church of England at this time, and we gain from the volume an impression of his consistency, exhibited under various conditions and at various times, in holding very firmly the central conviction of his life. What that was is admirably stated in the preface by the editor of the volume, and is abundantly illustrated in the body of the work. A paper on Christian Ethics, read at the Folkestone Church Congress in 1892, and setting forth the principle that religion must influence the moral ideals of the nation, serves as a general introduction to the papers which express this great conviction. Dr. Creighton strenuously directed all the powers of his life to show his fellow-countrymen the true position and meaning of the Church of England in its relation to the life of the nation. The Peterborough addresses, where the Bishop had more time to think than in London, and where he naturally looked more minutely into the details of the pressing questions which illustrated his leading principle, are full of particular instances of this principle in action. We may perhaps say that the earlier addresses indicate that more time was bestowed upon them than the Bishop was able to give to the work of immediate preparation at a later time. In them will be found expressions of his judgment of lasting value upon such questions as Education, Church and State, the Marriage Laws, Social Problems, Clerical Incomes, and Biblical Criticism. These and kindred subjects are discussed in the Bishop's primary Charge at Peterborough in 1894, and in three presidential addresses to the Peterborough Diocesan Conference. A paper on the Church and History, read at the Wolverhampton Church Congress in 1887, reveals to us a good deal of the spirit in which the *History of the*

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Papacy during the Reformation was written, and an earlier paper on the influence of the Reformation upon England, with special reference to the work and writings of Wyclif, read at the Carlisle Church Congress in 1884, is a fine example of the value of history for arriving at the true estimate of the principles of the Church of England. Another Church Congress paper, read at Norwich in 1895, deals with the continuity of the National Church in order, doctrine, and autonomy during the Norman and following periods of her life. It would have been well if a note had been added here to explain a reference in the opening passage of the paper to the parts of the subject taken by Dr. Jessopp and Professor Gwatkin, who preceded and followed Dr. Creighton. We have referred to a file of the *Guardian*,[1] and observe that Dr. Jessopp dealt with the origin and growth of the National Church, and Professor Gwatkin with the fact that its continuity was unbroken by the Reformation. We may perhaps add that Dr. Creighton was immediately followed by Bishop Herzog, and that the same Congress was marked by some valuable papers on the bearings of modern criticism on our English theory of the Church. In the same year the Bishop read a paper on the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction to the Church Historical Society, and the idea of a National Church was further illustrated by a paper read at the Shrewsbury Church Congress in the following year, 1896. This brings us to the London part of the volume. It includes three presidential addresses to the London Diocesan Conference, an inaugural address to the London Church Congress, an address on the position of the Church of England given to the London Ruridecanal Conferences in 1899, and the Charge delivered at St. Paul's in 1900, subsequently published under the title of *The Church and the Nation*. This part of the book deals with matters of recent controversy, which we discussed very fully in our various articles on the Lambeth cases and in our article upon Dr. Creighton's Episcopate.[2] In his London Charge he expressed once again his favourite conviction that it is the study of the Reformation history, with its causes and its results, that will best help us to fall into line on a liberal interpretation of the Anglican system by reference to its principles, not to its letter. This aim he patiently pursued, and before time was given to see the fruits of his slow method of settling the difficulties of his diocese he was not. Whatever the impatient or party spirits may think of his way, no one can read his London utterances and accuse him of any trace of the temper and the narrowness of

[1] October 16, 1895, p. 1590. [2] No. 103, p. 84.

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the Donatist and the Separator between Church and State. He was never content to leave the nation unleavened. He never said that the kingdoms of this world must perish without becoming the Kingdom of God and of His Christ. He never admitted that there are powers in this world which Christianity cannot and dare not deal with, gates of hell which must be left to prevail. He never said, '*Quid Christianis cum regibus?*'[1]

1. *Inns of Court Sermons.* By the Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A., Chaplain to the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)
2. *Thoughts by the Way.* By F. C. Woodhouse, M.A., Hon. Canon of Canterbury. (London: S.P.C.K., 1901.)
3. *Sermons preached in Sedbergh School Chapel,* 1883–1900. By H. G. Hart, M.A., formerly Head Master. (London, Rivingtons, 1901.)

We group these three volumes together, although they are very unlike each other, and were addressed to very different congregations. The second of them, indeed, is not actually described as a collection of sermons, though to all intents and purposes it is of this nature, and each of the chapters has a text, besides appropriate mottoes, prefixed to it.

The Benchers and others who attend the services at Lincoln's Inn Chapel are to be congratulated on the privilege they enjoy of hearing, Sunday after Sunday, such addresses as those of Professor Beeching, which worthily sustain the traditions of the Society.

To listen to such discourses must be an intellectual treat for such a critical and discriminating audience, but it is open to question whether the title of Sermon can, strictly speaking, be given to the first in this volume, which is hardly more than an essay on a department of English poetry, a subject in which the author, himself a poet, it need hardly be said, is thoroughly at home.

One other point to which exception may be taken may be noticed in passing.

It is this, that Professor Beeching informs us in his preface that 'four of the Sermons had previously been given in the University pulpit at Oxford, and that they are here reduced to their original form.' But would it not have been better to have elided such local allusions as 'there are doubtless at this moment in the University not a few young men' (p. 21), and 'some friendly meeting as may easily happen in Oxford or elsewhere,' in a volume which bears as its title

[1] See Benson's *St. Cyprian*, p. 529.

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Inns of Court Sermons, and again markedly on pp. 201–3, in the appeal to the 'home of lost causes'?

But these are very slight matters. We turn to the subject-matter of these Sermons, and here we find much that deserves our unqualified praise. Culture and literary ability and delicate choice of words we naturally expect in Professor Beeching. But here there is more. There is tact and insight, and considerable power of adapting his language and arguments to those whom he is addressing. We would point, as instances of this, to the analysis of the critical spirit, 'The critical spirit is like an east wind which makes people shrivel up into themselves,' &c. (p. 132); the analysis, again, of the character of St. Peter in the Sermon entitled 'The Rock of Love'; to the remarks on the root sin of society (p. 199), the desire to follow the crowd; to the *argumentum ad hominem*, here legitimately employed, in Sermon V., addressed to those who are directly occupied with the work of spreading justice, followed by a well-merited tribute to the late Lord Chief-Justice, Lord Russell of Killowen.

The volume concludes with an eloquent Sermon preached at the Temple Church on the Sunday after the death of Queen Victoria, to whom the last eight pages of it are devoted. Three points are specially dwelt upon: (1) how she illustrated upon the throne of the land the true idea of kingship—that a king should reign, not for his own pleasure, but for the welfare of his people; (2) that she will live in our memory as one who paid the respect of a lifetime to God's ordinance of the family; and (3) that, as has been well said, the Queen reigned 'by sheer force of character.' 'Character, character, character is the one thing needful in life; it is the only thing we can carry with us when we die.'

It is not quite clear for whom *Thoughts by the Way* were in the first instance intended. Those that touch on difficulties in religion, *e.g.* the paradoxes of the Sermon on the Mount (ch. vi.), or that attempt a defence of miracles as no violation of the laws of nature, seem hardly to go far enough towards meeting objections that constantly present themselves to thoughtful minds. It is on their practical side that we find the most valuable part of these discourses. The story of Abraham (ch. xiv.) has some telling passages which bring the dim and distant past of the Patriarch, which seems at first to be of the very slightest interest to us and our problems, into relation with the age in which our lot is cast. Such a passage as the following, while it is a fair sample of Canon Woodhouse's style, shows at the same time a practical insight into the needs of a time like the present, when the lessons drawn from Old Testament

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characters are too apt to be regarded as savouring of unreality, or at least to be inapplicable to modern conditions:

'The faithful man to-day looks out upon the world, and seeing the sins and miseries of mankind, the agonizing doubt assaults him, Is there a God in heaven? Is He good? Is He Almighty? And perhaps the faithful man says sadly, or even bitterly, "Abraham was not so tried."

'Was he not? Think for a moment. We have seen the sculptured pictures that have been dug up in Abraham's country; we can picture to ourselves the majesty, the might of those early empires; "the stone out of the wall" speaks to us, and records the boasting words of the Assyrian kings, their pride, their bloody, wanton wars, their cruelty, the down-trodden drudgery of the unrecorded millions, the triumphant insolence of the state idolatry. Was all this no trial of faith to Abraham? He believed in one God Almighty, holy, just, and good; yet he saw evil and error paramount and unchecked; he was almost alone, and all the world was against him—numbers, power, intellect.

'Now, say whether there is no common ground, no sympathy, no likeness between the trial of Abraham's faith in the dim historic past and our faith's conflict in these last days of sneering rationalism, of religious confusion, of insoluble perplexities.'

In the discourse on 'The World and the Church like an Inn,' thoughtful passages occur, and we are at first inclined to wonder that no reference is made to the circumstances of Archbishop Leighton's death, how he often said that, if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn: in such a place a Christian believer might properly finish his pilgrimage. This singular wish was gratified, for he breathed his last in the Bell Inn, Warwick Lane.

Perhaps the anecdote was considered to be hackneyed, though we do not remember that it has been frequently mentioned in the pulpit.

The twenty-five Sermons preached in Sedbergh School Chapel (1883–1900) are of somewhat unequal merit. The earlier ones appear to hit the mean that should be aimed at in such addresses less often than those delivered in more recent years. No audience is more difficult to reach. Boys are keen to detect the slightest note of anything that is pedantic or affected, or patronising or unreal. It is no easy task to say what is suitable for very varied characters, to avoid dulness, to choose the right subject, to win the attention of the strong and the weak, the student and the idler, the frivolous and the thoughtful. Some useful advice is given in the Sermon on Friendship, and valuable lessons are drawn from the one that deals with Esau and Jacob. No schoolboy, it has been said, ever disliked

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Esau. All the more important, therefore, is it to guard against a hasty estimate of the two brothers, and to point out how

'Jacob, the treacherous, the selfish, the grasping, came to an honoured old age, because, with all his faults, he aimed at something higher, while Esau, straightforward as he was, and incapable of his brother's hateful meanness, never rose, because he never tried to rise.'

There is plain-spoken language in Sermon XII., on the Lesson of Joash, from which we may quote the following passages:

'I have spoken to you all as sons who have inherited some good qualities, but also like this Joash of whom we have been thinking, some bad qualities as well.

'But many of you will one day have children of your own. Do not set aside the thought as practically of no concern to you, or even as out of place in a school chapel. It is but one illustration among many of the unspeakable importance of avoiding sin. For keener even than the misery of repentance for our own sins would be the added anguish of the thought that we had helped others, and others whom we dearly loved, to sin.

'To speak to grown-up men on this subject would be often to speak too late. Their children might have been born already; and, at any rate, their characters might be formed, and more or less set for life. The truth is that this exhortation is more properly addressed to boys than to anyone else.'

We would gladly have given further extracts, but can do no more than specially refer to Sermon XVII., with the anecdote of the old cricketer whom few understood, churlish on the surface, but possessed of many genuine good qualities, as an example of what is truly noble and good being often hid from the general gaze, but revealed to those who watch for it. We may draw attention also to Sermon XIX., on Discipline, with the admirable illustration of the subject given from Lord Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India*. Full of high thought, too, combined with sensible advice, is the Sermon on the Ascension, and the lessons drawn out from the beautiful Collect for that day.

III. Some Books on Philosophy.

The Origin and Significance of Hegel's Logic: a General Introduction to Hegel's System. By J. B. Baillie, B.A. (Camb.), D.Phil. (Edin.), Lecturer in Philosophy at University College, Dundee. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)

This able work is designed to help the student of Hegel to the understanding of the *Logic*, which is usually found the most 'forbidding and impossible part' of his system. The book is historical, and

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attempts to remove the obscurity, which to many—probably most—minds hangs over the *Logic*, by indicating the way in which that work grew up in the mind of the author. Dr. Baillie anticipates an objection to his method of exposition arising from the fact that he has identified himself so much with Hegel's point of view that it is difficult to distinguish Hegel from his interpreter. We admit that this objection seems to us to possess considerable weight. We must allow that after honestly going through the whole book, the final chapter, on Criticism, in which the author writes very clearly in his own person and style, is that which came most easily within our grasp.

Hegel's system, nevertheless, is one which offers distinct attraction to those who take special interest in religion. The philosopher himself declared that the words 'die to live' were those which, in the most concentrated form, expressed his central meaning. Dr. Hutchinson Stirling, whose book Dr. Baillie declares to be the great English storehouse of Hegelianism, maintains that Hegel's views can 'conciliate themselves admirably with the revelation of the New Testament: for his object is also reconciliation, the reconciliation of man to God.'[1] And the late Principal Caird, after laying down that there is no higher creation of God than a spirit that is made in His own image, and in that spirit there is nothing higher than the knowledge of the love of God, proceeds to say that the knowledge and love of God mean 'the giving up of all thoughts and feelings that belong to me as a mere individual self and the identification of my thought and being with that which is above me yet in me.'[2] Hegel was at first destined to become a Lutheran minister; and though the course of his life led him afterwards to prefer the calling of a professor of philosophy, yet religion ever filled a leading place in his philosophical system. 'The all-importance of the purely philosophical interpretation of Reality does not imply the entire absence of that religious "attitude" which we saw to be the source and characteristic form of his interest in philosophy.'[3]

When we pass to philosophy we find Hegel's conception thus compendiously stated by Dr. Baillie:—

'The Absolute is the identity of Subject and Object: and the identity of Subject and Object is the supreme principle of speculation, of all philosophical knowledge. But it is likewise presupposed in common life as well as in all philosophy; it lies at the basis of the "common sense" of the ordinary understanding. And in this fact lies the possibility and the need for philosophy.'[4]

[1] *The Secret of Hegel*, vol. i. p. 148.
[2] Introduction to the *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 257.
[3] Baillie, *Hegel's Logic*, p. 60. [4] *Ibid.* p. 69.

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How this problem common to philosophy and common life is determined by Hegel, Dr. Baillie shows. To acquire any perception of it the reader must at all events grasp the meaning of the principle of contradiction, which is this: that recognition of the reality of finite objects implies the reality of objects outside them, their contrast with which makes them finite. Our own self-consciousness, in order to realize itself, must recognize our distinction from other things; our finitude, therefore, implies the reality of other objects perceived by us. Yet these objects perceived by us must have possession of our minds while we think of them. And the process is not complete until to the consciousness of self and the consciousness of the object succeeds a consciousness in which both are united.[1] Hegel says that 'All things are in themselves contradictory.' Every experience which the human mind passes through must in the first place present something in contrast with the self in order to be a real object of thought, and in the next pass into the mind's consciousness, and be that consciousness itself. 'All the forms of experience are modes of a single consciousness, of the one mind which is operative in all experience. The self is the concrete whole of experience.'[2] And so the object and the subject are identified in the experience of every life, as well as in the thought of the philosopher. And all man's knowledge of nature becomes a history of his self-development. Every observation of what we call the external world has in its turn been a mental experience, a condition of the observing mind, and has as such been stored up in the treasury of successive states by which it knows itself. From the point of view in which things seem given to us from without, we call them phenomena; but from the inward side the same things form the history of our mental states and the materials of our logic. This is Idealism in its completeness.

But if we maintain that our mental experience furnishes us with absolute knowledge we seem placed in a doubtful position in Religion. Fichte at one time defended the paradox that 'man creates God in order to prove His existence.'[3] But Fichte himself finally abandoned this absurdity, by which Religion is compelled to destroy its own basis. Hegel does not maintain it. But this, as Dr. Baillie argues with obvious justice, is to allow that the individual's 'Experience in time cannot, for Religion, exhaust the full life of God, and the content of Experience cannot be identical with the meaning of the Absolute of Religion.'[4]

[1] Baillie, p. 293–4.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 197.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 335.
[4] *Ibid.*

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In fact, Hegel's attempt by knowledge to transcend the finite consciousness of the known is, according to Mr. Baillie, 'entirely futile,' and leads to an adoption of the tactics of pure Agnosticism, which argues that because something is independent of any given mind it is in itself unknowable; Hegel contends that 'because something holds for all it is independent of anyone, and therefore true for itself.'[1]

It will be plain from this that Mr. Baillie is not a blind and undiscriminating follower of Hegel. He roundly declares that the complete realization of the nature of the Absolute must remain for knowledge, even at its best, an impossible achievement. Yet, in spite of this serious deduction from claims into which Hegel would seem to have been led by the revolutionary impulse of his time, Mr. Baillie holds that he solves his problem.

'The more the knower is absorbed in the object, the more does he become aware of the self which knows, while at the same time this objective activity is essentially self-knowledge—consciousness of self' (p. 365).

'We do not require to go beyond our self-consciousness to know God, for the kingdom of truth is within us, and the more completely the truth is known the more will it appear in the form of pure self-consciousness, and therefore the more nearly will it approximate to being "revelation"' (p. 374).

Bishop Butler. By W. A. Spooner, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, and Honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. (London: Methuen and Co., 1901.)

The biography of Bishop Butler is not much known. His life was not eventful, and none of his friends performed the part of a Boswell in recording its small details and daily talk. His works are very compressed in style and full of matter which retains its interest to the present day. Mr. Spooner had therefore a good opportunity of furnishing an account both of the man and his work, which should be in a small compass complete and satisfying; and he has used the opportunity with excellent discretion and ability. None of his chapters will serve as a compendium to excuse resort to the original. But to those who are acquainted with the well-known books and desire a masterly general review of their contents and relations, Mr. Spooner is to be recommended as a guide well acquainted with all the great subjects of which Butler has treated, and with the course of thought upon them which has prevailed since his time and in which his works have so well maintained their ground.

[1] Baillie, pp. 343-4.

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Butler was, no doubt, a man of quiet manner, and no record that any friend could have made of him would have exhibited him as enthusiastic or demonstrative. He was essentially of the eighteenth century. Yet some remains appear to show that not merely reason but religious feeling was alive within him to testify to a piety that had existed in the Church's past and was to revive in her future. 'Shall I not be faithful to God?' he wrote. 'If He puts upon me a part to do, shall I neglect or refuse it—a part to suffer, and shall I say I would not, if I could help it?' He criticized the Methodist movement and differed from its leaders in some points, for which few will blame him. But he displayed sympathy with their care for souls, and made some efforts, at cost to himself, to amend the spiritual destitution which the movement brought to light. But it happened that among the two enthusiasms, that of Methodists and Papists, which were abhorred by the sober Christians of those times, it was the second rather than the first, of which Butler was suspected. His chaplain at Bristol tells that he read much of books of devotion and the lives of the saints; and in his restorations in Bristol Cathedral, upon which, according to his habit, he spent lavishly, he erected underneath the east window, with its ancient glass, a white cross let into a black background. And his sense of the importance of positive and external religion is not only expressed in the *Analogy* but formed the subject of his Charge to the diocese of Durham.

Mr. Spooner, having depicted the sad condition, often related and well known to us all, of the country clergy during the reigns of the first Georges, passes (p. 71) to tell of the moral systems which prevailed. First, to be sure, there was the old system of the Church, founded upon a high conception of human nature and its origin in God and redemption by Christ Jesus. With this men had been long content and had attained lofty degrees of morality and even saintliness. The system had embodied in itself ancient moral teachings inherited from heathen times without prejudice to the Divine origin and authority of the call to well-doing. But the time came when this was questioned—not in the Reformation or by reason of the mere fact that the authority of Rome was rejected, but long after that period, when separation was so widely spread and authority so devoid of practical power that men were forced to ask themselves what would become of society if all the spiritual sanctions on which order had depended were to prove powerless.

Under the stress of this question Hobbes attempted to invest secular authority with the charge of originating a system of order which sufficed to call mankind out of the brutishness of its natural condition. Individual man, according to Hobbes, possessed no

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more right or power to attach any sanctity to moral action than might enable him to co-operate with the Government in maintaining the police of society. It is plain that private conduct was left under such a theory without much reason for doing right. And accordingly it was maintained in terms by a follower of Hobbes named Mandeville that private vices might actually serve to the greater benefit of the public.

Against these theories, which represent the moral power in man as manufactured by his social needs and experiences, and apart from these having no inward strength, Butler asserted the existence of conscience as not only a part of man's constitution but a power which has a right to command. The sermons in which this principle is stated are thought to be difficult reading. But they proved their point. The inward power of conscience has been a recognized constituent of man's nature in all the more widely accepted philosophies of the last hundred and fifty years. The categorical imperative of Kant deepened the lessons of Butler. And though the great development system of Mr. Herbert Spencer builds the power of conscience upon a theory of growth, it is a growth of infinitely older and worthier date than the moral history of Hobbes, and even thus there is little reason to apprehend that Mr. Spencer will be generally thought to have accounted for the mystical authority of our moral faculties. The 'bed-rock upon which Butler's whole system reposes' (p. 227) remains unshaken.

The *Analogy* owes its place among the treasured possessions of England to the close connexion which it holds with the gospel of Christ. It is not a vague apology for an indefinite religion, but enters into the particulars of Christian doctrine and their application to life. While his argument is rigidly reasonable, and he deserves all the praise which Mr. Spooner gives him for perfect fairness and self-restraint in the limit of the assent which he demands, we can feel well assured that his deep personal piety and fixity of Christian belief entered into the whole composition. There is in Butler's treatment of the evidences of religion no such absolute separation between the proofs and the actual body of the faith itself as other writers on the subject have displayed.

Ethics, Descriptive and Explanatory. By S. E. Mezes, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Texas. (New York, 1901.)

Professor Mezes (Pref. p. ix.) urges upon 'Metaphysical Moralists' the remembrance that he does not mean to prejudge the results of their speculations; that as metaphysicians wish to know what morality is as a cosmic phenomenon they cannot be indifferent to

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the knowledge of its nature as a natural phenomenon, since nature is part of the cosmos; and that it seems reasonable to study morality as a human experience before regarding its cosmic bearings; it would be interesting to us as a human fact even if it were to be shown that it has no cosmic significance at all.

Under the terms cosmic and metaphysical as used by Professor Mezes, we must no doubt include religion and the assistances which religion can impart to ethics and the value of ethics to religion. But we perfectly allow the justice of the author's plea, which is fairly and fully carried out in his instructive book. It is indeed beyond dispute that the phenomena of nature in every department admit of separate treatment as such. In every university and every school we have teachers of astronomy, physiology, and every other branch of natural science. Each of them is concerned with his own subject alone, with which he is specially acquainted, though he may be very ignorant in others and in the wider relations which belong to each. Yet it must be well understood that there are cosmic relations belonging to each department of natural science which must not be excluded from investigation and statement, provided that the facts of each as they are be scrupulously adhered to.

Among all the sciences there is none to which this proviso more strictly applies than Ethics. Granted that it is possible to state the principles of Ethics as a department of the natural history of man: still it is a natural history which has many qualities that are not to be found in mere natural history. Its facts involve the possession by man of free will and intelligence and conscience; and these, while they are facts in themselves and proper materials of science, have suggested to thoughtful men an origin even more surely beyond and above the scene of their exercise than the other departments in which marks of design and moral intention have been observed in nature. 'Nor is it difficult to explain why man alone is religious. No animal has any experience of agency, and none, therefore, has any means of personifying the forces and phenomena of nature' (p. 153). We are far from implying that such considerations are forgotten by Professor Mezes. 'The many religious bodies differ in creed and in moral perspective as well as doctrine, and these differences are proper and necessary subjects of investigation' (p. 11). And he suggests when considering the subject of objective morality that 'if it should be found with the growth of knowledge that departed spirits, angels, or any other beings at present more or less hypothetical are co-operating with mankind, and further, that it is possible for mankind to co-operate with them, morality would stretch to include those beings' (p. 196 *n.*).

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Now it is very certain that if the creeds of the many religious bodies are proper subjects of investigation, beings beyond this world, whether the departed spirits of men or higher spirits still, do in the belief of multitudes mingle in the scene of our moral action, and whether themselves subject with ourselves to moral judgment, share with the beings whose life is passed in our sight the office of settling for us the question what is right for us to do.

Throughout the whole of Professor Mezes' able work, whether in the first part, which treats of subjective morality and the birth and growth of conscience in the individual and the race; or in the second, which describes objective morality and the various cardinal virtues, we cannot help feeling that religion can add something to all his conclusions—namely, life. Indeed, it would seem to us that it is under the form of religion that his Ethics have for the most part been actually taught. Conscience is too abstract to do without a living monitor to judge its actions and a perfect life to present an ideal of its true working; and the Christian belief in a future life presents the prospect of welfare to mankind in the noblest and most unselfish form. We acknowledge the great value of the studies of the science of Ethics which this work contains. But we shall maintain our belief that religion presents a stimulus to the practice of morality which cannot exist in equal intensity without it and an instruction in the nature of morality which makes it real for multitudes who otherwise would regard it with apathy enough to content them with a very imperfect standard and the mere approval of the crowd.

The Immortality of the Soul: a Protest. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)

The purport of Dr. Beet's book is to examine whether the natural immortality of the soul is taught or assumed in Holy Scripture; but 'the real importance of the doctrine is its bearing on the ultimate destiny of the wicked' (p. 92). He traces to Plato the belief that man is compounded of a perishable and an imperishable part—the former enduring only for the space between birth and death; the latter existing before birth, bringing with it into the body the impress of knowledge and character previously attained, and issuing from the body to receive fresh incarnations according to its deserts, and, as a simple uncompounded substance, incapable of dissolution. The theory is an attractive one: it seems to account philosophically for knowledge as reminiscence, it seems to explain the unequal lots to which men are born, it provides scope for the fulfilment after death of justice, which often seems in this world abortive. But the

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grandeur of the theory must not blind us to the fact that it is not the general testimony of the human conscience, but the speculation of the most religious of ancient philosophers.

A rather fragmentary section deals with the Egyptian view of the future life, which perhaps promised perpetuity only to the virtuous. Dr. Beet then proceeds to examine the revelation of the Old Testament, which speaks indeed of a resurrection to judgment but does not declare that after this judgment the soul's existence is prolonged. If the wicked awake 'to shame, to eternal abhorrence' (Dan. xii. 2), it may be that the prophet speaks of 'the lasting effect on others of the doom of the lost' (p. 17). In the New Testament Dr. Beet finds similar silence as to the natural immortality of the soul and the endlessness of the suffering of the wicked. He points out the inaccuracy of translating the word *αἰώνιος* as 'in itself equivalent to endless' (p. 29), for the word is applied to Jewish ordinances and other things which assuredly came to an end when their *αἰών* or 'age' was past. And we welcome his demonstration (p. 30) that this view of the word *αἰώνιος* does not conflict with the endless joy of the blessed, which is assured by direct statements that of Christ's kingdom there 'shall be no end,' and that an inheritance awaits us which is 'incorruptible and unfading' (1 St. Pet. i. 4). It is strange that he does not draw attention to our Lord's definition of 'eternal life' in St. John xvii. 3—a definition which shows that 'eternal' is a term not of quantity but of quality.

On the other hand, he does not find in the New Testament any direct statement that the wicked will cease to exist, for the words which speak of 'loss' and 'destruction' are, in other places, compatible with restoration (p. 31). His conclusion, then, is that nothing certain is revealed in Holy Scripture as to the natural immortality of the soul and the possibility of unending misery; and he concludes with a warning not 'to overstep the limits of the revelation given to us in Christ,' lest we should 'add to the words of the prophecy of this Book' (p. 115).

The writer is, of course, not seeking for what is comforting, but for what is true; yet we may ask whether his view does much to mitigate the doctrine 'of an endless prolongation of an existence which is only a helpless consciousness of utter ruin,' against which 'the moral sense of thousands of intelligent and devout men and women is in stern revolt' (p. 105). To be told that a soul which we love in spite of its sins will suffer as long as it exists, and then possibly, or even probably, cease to exist, is not a hopeful gospel; and it may be feared that it will lead to the familiar evasion that, though the threat be true in general, it does not apply to those

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sinners, however obstinate, in whom we happen to be interested: some indeed will suffer irremediably, but some excuse will be found for our wicked brother.

A more serious complaint is that this view brings into acute question the goodness of God. The advocate of human permanence may say that God, having made the soul imperishable, cannot be expected to reverse His design in the case of those who choose to spend their endless existence in rebellion and misery; or he may bear to contemplate the most acute and protracted misery of the wicked if only the assured purpose of God is ultimately to subdue their rebellious wills. But according to Dr. Beet's theory, if we may ascribe it to him, God not only allows the continued existence of the wicked, but even prolongs it after death by a resurrection, only that He may inflict upon them the irremediable vengeance of their sins. Does not this view remind us of those judges who have devised such torments for their victims as may spare life as long as possible in order that they may drain to the dregs the cup of their deserts? Can the Christian conscience identify the faithful Creator with the ingenious Inquisitor? If this be indeed the clear teaching of Holy Scripture, it cannot be disputed; but Dr. Beet's position is that it is only an allowable hypothesis, in which case we can allow our consciences to rise in witness against it.

In part of Dr. Beet's doctrine we are entirely at one with him. We do not think that man is composed of two substances—one mortal, the other naturally immortal. The soul, no less than the body, is spoken of in the Bible as dying; the body, no less than the soul and spirit, may be 'preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Thess. v. 23). Man's permanence seems to us to depend, not upon any imperishable part in him, but upon the Will of God, who, having made him in His own Image, cannot fail to conserve him. 'The soul partakes of life, since God wills it to live'[1] Again, death, to our mind, is not the antithesis of life, but a condition through which life passes. In the day when man fell from God he died, not ceasing to exist indeed, but renouncing the divine sphere in which he was created. By Death our Lord overcomes death, enabling us to die to our self-centred state, so that we may return to live with God. The death of the body is, for the saint, the completing act of a process of death whereby his spirit and soul have already been redeemed. Thus at last being dead he is freed from sin. The wicked man, on the contrary, though his body dies, yet lives according to his soul and spirit in the old selfish state of alienation from

[1] St. Justin, quoted p. 40.

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God. What may be the bearing on this subject of the awful promise of a Second Death we cannot discuss in a few lines. Suffice it to say that in Holy Scripture generally the note of death is not destruction but deliverance, however painful.

We are forced to complain that Dr. Beet gives in this work a very fragmentary view of a topic which ought not perhaps to be touched without an attempt to handle it completely. He does not discriminate between death and destruction, or between the natural immortality of the soul and the upholding of the whole man by the Word of God's power; strange to say, he hardly alludes to the Incarnation, the Death, and the Resurrection of our Lord as factors in the problem; and he passes over such important texts as St. Matt. v. 26, St. Luke xv. 4, and 1 Cor. xv. 22, 26. Nor does he seem to perceive that the real question as to the lost regards God rather than men; and that the question of the permanence of sin is more pressing than that of the permanence of suffering. But with these reservations we are grateful to him for handling his very serious topic with the reverence of a Christian believer.

Texts to Illustrate a Course of Elementary Lectures on the History of Greek Philosophy from Thales to Aristotle. [Selected by HENRY JACKSON, Litt. D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.] (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)

THE character of this book is sufficiently explained by its title. Selected originally to illustrate Dr. Jackson's own lectures, the passages here printed from the early philosophers, from Plato and Aristotle, and sometimes from the later commentators, may serve almost equally well to illustrate any other course of lectures on the same subject, or to accompany the study of a history of Greek philosophy, such as Mr. Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* or Professor Gomperz's *Greek Thinkers*. The extracts are not meant to be read continuously without commentary, but in connexion with a commentary, or to revive half-forgotten knowledge, they would be very useful. It is especially desirable that young students should be brought into contact with original materials as much as possible. They may learn to talk or write about Greek philosophy from lectures or books, but if they are brought to read the original materials on which their lectures or books are based they will not only find that these serve as nails to fasten the development of Greek thought in their mind, but they will learn a lesson in method by seeing how the materials are worked up by the commentators and brought into connexion with one another and with modern philosophy. We therefore cordially recommend this convenient little book both

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to teacher and student. It is only necessary to point out that, with the exception of a few pages from the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle at the end, ethical and political philosophy are ignored, and only physical and metaphysical philosophy dealt with. This should perhaps have been indicated in the title or preface; otherwise some purchasers of the book may be disappointed.

The Sources of Eighteenth-Century Deism. By ARTHUR H. POWELL, LL.D. (London: Church Newspaper Company [n.d.])

THIS is a very convenient, thoughtful, and well-written little book. Within the compass of thirty-two rather closely printed pages Dr. Powell gives us an adequate account of the rise of what was vaguely called Deism in the eighteenth century. Whether he has studied the works of the Deists themselves we do not know. The authorities to whom he chiefly refers in his notes are Mr. Leland, Messrs. Abbey and Overton, Mr. Mark Pattison, and Dr. A. S. Farrar; but these are quite sufficient for his purpose, and they are not misleading, as far as facts are concerned. We quite agree with Dr. Powell, that the sources of Deism must be traced back to the sixteenth century, and that it was the natural result of the unsettlement of men's minds after the break with Rome. Deism was nothing more than Natural Religion as distinguished from Revealed; Revealed Religion is the religion of the Bible; the Bible began to be used, or misused, by all parties for all kinds of purposes: was not Natural Religion, after all, the safest to trust to? The only wonder is that the attack was not more formidable than it was; for with one possible exception there is no Deistical writer who attained to a high rank. Hobbes, Hume, and Bolingbroke do not, properly speaking, come under that head, and Shaftesbury attained his distinction in a different field. The exception is Matthew Tindal, whose *Christianity as Old as the Creation* is a powerful work; but it was completely demolished by Bishop Butler. Dr. Powell rightly lays stress upon the *Analogy* as the strongest work which appeared on the Christian side. It covers the whole field, and is simply unanswerable from the Deist's point of view, and it never *was* answered by a Deist, though attempts were made by others. But he hardly lays sufficient stress upon the complete victory which not only Butler, but many other writers—such as Berkeley, W. Law, Bentley, Conybeare and T. Sherlock—won all along the line. Never was there such an unequal combat, as Mr. Leslie Stephen, who will not be suspected of an undue partiality towards the Christian advocates, frankly owns. We doubt whether Deism ever had quite so much influence as Dr. Powell thinks, except, indeed, that it was a convenient pretext for some

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persons to get rid of their Christian obligations; but, at any rate, it completely collapsed before the middle of the century was reached. Dr. Powell's work is so good that we should like to see it made better by the correction of a few slips, which in all kindliness we venture to point out. Surely 1534, not 1536, as Dr. Powell implies (pp. 8 and 9), was the crucial year in which the final severance from Rome was completed. The anti-Papal legislation of 1533 was ratified by the proper assemblies of the Church in 1534, when both Convocations voted that 'the Roman bishop had no greater jurisdiction given him by God in this kingdom than any other bishop'; and this, rather than the Act of 1536, ended the matter. Again, the past or preter-perfect tense of the English verb 'to bid' is surely 'bade,' not 'bid,' as Dr. Powell more than once writes it (pp. 8 and 17); 'Deist' is a substantive, not an adjective, but Dr. Powell frequently uses it as an adjective (Prefatory Note and pp. 16, 25 and 31). Once more, Dr. Powell is evidently of opinion that Dodwell the younger's *Christianity not Founded upon Argument* is a *bona fide* defence of the Christian religion (see p. 21); and many have thought the same, both at the time and in our own day. Indeed, the joint authors, Messrs. Abbey and Overton, whom he so often quotes, do not quite agree on this point, Mr. Abbey half inclining to the opinion that the book is to be understood literally, Mr. Overton ironically. But we are now in a position to say with absolute certainty, from private letters belonging to the Dodwell family, that it was ironical, and that it was intended to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of Christianity, just as Defoe's *Short Way with Dissenters* was intended to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the method of treating Dissenters. Both books deceived people; but the internal evidence of bitter irony in both seems to us perfectly clear, and in Dodwell's case the book is, to our mind, a far more telling and powerful one on the anti-Christian side than any written by a professed Deist. We sincerely hope that a second edition of Dr. Powell's little work will soon be called for; and, if so, we think that when he looks into the points to which we have called attention he will see it is advisable to correct them.

IV. General Literature.

The History of English Church Architecture prior to the Separation of England from the Roman Obedience. An Essay by George Gilbert Scott, M.A., F.S.A. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1901.)

This book was privately issued by the late Mr. G. G. Scott in 1881, at 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* The surplus stock, with a commendation from

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Mr. Bodley, is now offered for sale at 12*s.* 6*d.* If the book had been published originally in the ordinary manner, it is difficult to believe that there would have been any surplus stock left.

The work is arranged under five main heads :—(1) 'A Review of the General History of Ecclesiastical Architecture previous to the Conversion of the English.' (2) 'From the Mission of St. Augustine to the Norman Conquest.' (3) 'The Norman Period.' (4) 'From the First Appearance of the Pointed Style to the Commencement of the Fourteenth Century.' (5) 'From the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Mediæval Period.' The illustrations include full-page engraved and photo-lithographic plates of views, plans, and details, of Canterbury Cathedral, Abbey Church of St. Albans, Wells Cathedral, Netley Abbey, Salisbury Cathedral, Tintern Abbey, King's College Chapel Cambridge, Christchurch Priory, various Saxon and Early English Churches, Roman Basilicas, the Basilica of Nola, &c.

Mr. Scott's handsome quarto is much more than a history of English Church Architecture. A large part of the first half of the book takes the reader into times before the English were converted to Christianity—indeed before there were English people in these islands—and into lands far distant from our shores. Starting with the sound principle, so often lost sight of, that 'it is no matter of accident that churches were built in a certain form and in a certain style at a certain date,' the author claims that it is possible, 'in every case, to trace back the cause of any particular fashion of church building, step by step, to the origin of Christian art, which is one with the origin of the Christian Church.' Hence the 'preliminary survey' covers of necessity a very wide area. It is the working out of this survey in detail that makes the special interest and value of Mr. Scott's work. When we get to the Norman Conquest and to the later mediæval periods, we are on much more familiar ground, though even there Mr. Scott is always fresh and suggestive.

The fundamental assertion made in the preface that the church architecture of England owes a great deal of its peculiar character to the traditions of the British Church has probably a not inconsiderable element of truth in it. But we cannot concede so much as that to the assertion that 'it was the task of St. Augustine not so much to reform 'as to revivify' those traditions. Not only is there not historical support for that statement; there is not even inferential support for it. Nor, again, does Mr. Scott seem to have read his history aright when he speaks of the mission of St. Augustine as 'an example of the action of the central authority' 'to correct the culpable negligence of the native hierarchy in the matter of the conversion of the Saxon invaders of Britain.' The phrase sounds

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like a reference to the statement by Gregory the Pope that the *sacerdotes e vicino* had been earnestly requested by the pagan English, of whom it was said *vehementer velle converti*, to come and help them, and that this petition had been disregarded. The better opinion is that this meant the *sacerdotes* of Gaul, and could not conceivably mean the bishops (or priests) of the Britons who had retired to inaccessible parts of the island, and whom the Saxons were bent upon subjugating or extirpating,

Mr. Scott justly remarks that the Roman tradition of architectural style did not make its first appearance here as a consequence of the mission of St. Augustine. 'It had, upon the establishment of the peace of the Church (if not before the time of Constantine), been followed by the Christianized Roman colonists and the officials of the empire, side by side with the very different tradition of the native British Christians.' These two parallel streams of influence Mr. Scott credits—again in all probability justly—with the apsidal and square-ended styles of church building respectively. Throughout the Continent of Western Europe, he remarks, square-ended churches are almost unknown. 'Wherever Roman or Byzantine influence has determined the course of architectural development, there we find the apsidal type universal.' In the British and Irish churches we have evidence, Mr. Scott believes, of the existence of a tradition earlier than the date of Constantine, 'which we cannot but refer to the very commencement of British Christianity.' This is only another form of the very reasonable supposition that the earliest places of Christian worship among uncivilized peoples, to whom Christianity came by slow degrees and not by means of a great and powerful mission, followed the general lines of building which prevailed among the people; and whether the buildings were of wood or of loose stones, a square end presented less difficulties than an apsidal end. Indeed the apsidal end must be regarded as in itself a sign of the direct influence of a style of architecture which had resulted from considerable and not unscientific developments.

Mr. Scott insists on the ritual uniformity which existed along with this divergence of style. In the apse the bishop sat in a central throne, with presbyters on each side of him and with the altar in front; the celebrant, when not the bishop himself, turned his back to the bishop. In the square-ended churches, he says, the altar stood in advance of the end wall, and along the end wall a bench ran for the bishop and presbyters. Passing on from that primitive practice, Mr. Scott remarks that

'almost all the alterations in church arrangement, which were gradually effected during the Middle Ages, are in the direction of reducing the

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position assigned to the clergy to one of less dignity and importance. The seats of the presbyters were gradually removed from the apse to a choir formed in the body of the church, into what was, in the basilicas, the place of the inferior clergy only; and the bishop was left alone in the centre of the apse. As time went on the bishops too began to leave their position of pre-eminent dignity and descended to humbler thrones at one side of the choir. Many of the rites of the Roman Pontifical belong evidently to the early position of the bishop's throne, and become somewhat laboured and less natural, now that the throne has shifted its site.

At Canterbury the archiepiscopal seat remained in its primitive dignity, in rear of the altar, almost to our own day. It was only some forty [sixty] years ago that Archbishop Howley abandoned this last relic of primitive custom and modestly withdrew his throne from a position of dignity, felt perhaps to be unreal, to a more humble situation in the choir.'

Enough has been said to indicate the wide and varied interest of this important book. After each chapter a 'discursus' follows, or more than one, the subjects being: the orientation of early Christian churches, the æsthetic and artistic element in primitive Christianity, early churches in Eastern and Western Christendom, the Basilica of St. Felix at Nola, the secular Roman basilica, the history of the Casula, the painted ceilings of St. Albans Abbey Church, and certain mediæval innovations in the distribution of churches.

Readers of such passages as the remark quoted above in reference to Archbishop Howley will have the fact rather prominently forced upon their attention that the author had thrown off his allegiance to the National Church, and held that at the Reformation, in words which he prefixed to his work,

> 'This dear dear land
> Hath made a shameful conquest of itself;
> O, would the scandal vanish with my life,
> How happy then were my ensuing death.'

The House of Atreus; being the Agamemnon, Libation Bearers, and Furies of Æschylus, translated into English Verse by E. D. A. MORSHEAD, M.A., late Fellow of New College, Oxford, Assistant Master of Winchester College. (London: Macmillan and Co., 'Golden Treasury' series, 1901.)

WE welcome the appearance in the 'Golden Treasury' series of Mr. Edmund Morshead's translation of the *Oresteia*. Of all the English versions of these tremendous dramas there is none which we should put into the hands of a reader unacquainted with Greek in preference to this. Browning's renderings of the great choruses of the

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Agamemnon may come nearer to the rugged magnificence of the original, but the hendecasyllabic blank verse into which Browning, by an unaccountable freak, chose to turn the iambic passages is neither good translation nor good poetry. Mr. Morshead is a scholar whose scholarship has not overlaid his fine literary taste, and the poetry of the original is not lost in fidelity to the Greek. You cannot get everything in a translation, and Mr. Morshead may occasionally sacrifice strength to smoothness; but his version has the supreme merit of being readable, and his command of English literary phrase leads him to many happy and effective renderings. Originally published in 1881, the *House of Atreus* now reappears in this eminently convenient shape, with an additional preface and an exquisite reproduction of a Greek vase by way of frontispiece. Its publication should be a boon to the somewhat large class of persons who are interested in Greek literature without possessing complete familiarity with the Greek language.

Periodicals.

The Journal of Theological Studies. (Vol. III. No. 10. January, 1902. Macmillan and Co.) The opening paper is one by Dr. Swete on 'Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries.' It is a very fair review. We only doubt whether it is necessary to assume that a line of thought in any direction first arose at the time of the earliest mention of it. The concluding paragraphs are of great value. Dr. Rashdall reviews Dr. Moberly's 'Theory of the Atonement.' We are always grateful to Dr. Rashdall for not allowing us to shirk difficulties, but we sometimes wonder whether the comparative clearness and simplicity of Dr. Rashdall and his two particular friends Abelard and Ritschl does not arise from limitation rather than lucidity. There is more in the orthodox theology than they realize. In an 'Eirenicon from Culture,' Dr. Sanday criticises Professor Gardner's new book.

Other contents are: 'A Reprint of the Commentary of Origen on the Epistle to the Ephesians,' by the Rev. J. A. F. Gregg; notes 'On some MSS. of the Writings of St. Athanasius,' by the Bishop of Wellington; 'The Bohairic Version of the Pentateuch,' by Mr. Brooke; 'On the Ordination of the Early Bishops of Alexandria,' by the Bishop of Worcester; and 'The Original Order and Contents of our Oldest MS. of St. Cyprian,' by C. H. Turner.

In the *Expositor* (Sixth Series. Nos. XXV–XXVII. January–March. Hodder and Stoughton), the most interesting paper is by Professor J. Rendel Harris, M.A., on 'A Curious Bezan Reading Vindicated.' Professor Ramsay writes on 'The Jews in the Græco-Asiatic Cities;' Dr. Bernard on 'The Baptismal Formula.' There are three very bizarre dialogues by Dr. Selwyn on 'The Christian Prophets,' and Mr. Gray writes on 'The List of the Twelve Tribes.' The Rev. A. E. Garvie writes on 'Studies in the "Inner Life" of Jesus,' and the Rev. George Milligan on 'The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus.'

The Critical Review (Vol. XII. January, 1902. No. 1. Williams and Norgate) contains the usual thorough review of books, chiefly German. Among English books we notice a review of the Bishop of Salisbury's 'Ministry of Grace,'

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by Mr. Vernon Bartlett, and one of Dr. Biggs's edition of 'St. Peter,' by Principal Salmond, the editor. We wish we could bring Mr. Bartlett to see that he and Dr. Hatch have just as many 'tendencies' and 'prejudices' which mar the historical character of their work as Dr. Wordsworth. There is a certain priggishness in the assumptions made by all those who attack ecclesiastical institutions that they are the only people free from bias, and neither the certainty of their results nor the calibre of their work justifies their pretensions.

The Classical Review (Vol. XVI. Nos. 1 and 2. February and March, 1902: David Nutt) contains a paper on 'Ghost-raising, Magic, and the Underworld,' by W. Headlam; a review and controversy concerning Ridgway's 'Early Age of Greece,' in which Mr. Myres puts forward some very well-deserved criticisms; and a useful paper by Thomas Ashby, jun., on 'Recent Excavations in Rome.' In the March number there is a review of Glover's 'Fourth Century.'

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (IIIme Année, No. 1. 15 Janvier, 1902. Université Catholique de Louvain) continues the paper by C. Callewaert, 'Les premiers chrétiens furent-ils persécutés par édits généraux ou par mesures de police?' The Abbé Duchesne writes on 'Le faux Concile de Cologne (346)'; and Dom G. Morin 'Pour l'Authenticité du Traité sur la Vision d'Isaïe, récemment publié sous le nom de S. Jérôme.'

Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift (XIII. 1–3. 1902. January to March. A. Deichert. Erlangen and Leipzig). Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs. Zusammenhang von Taufe und Wiedergeburt. Die Aufgabe der Dogmatik im Licht ihrer Geschichte; von Prof. D. Ihmels. Novatians Predigt über die Kundschafter; von Prof. D. Haussleiter. Der Bund von Sinai, IV.; von Prof. D. Wilhelm Lotz in Erlangen. St. Bernhard von Clairvaux als Hymnendichter; von Prof. Dr. Fr. Hashagen in Rostock. Glossen zum ersten Johannesbrief IV; von Pastor Wohlenberg in Altona.

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XIV. January 1902. No. 54. Macmillan and Co.) contains an important paper on 'The Pauline Emancipation from the Law a Product of the Pre-Christian Jewish Diaspora.' By Dr. M. Friedländer. Also 'Recent Criticisms of the Letter of Aristeas,' by I. Abrahams.

Revue de L'Orient Chrétien (1901. No. 4. Paris: Librairie F. Picard et Fils). 'Les Etudes Islamiques en Russie et une apologie Russe de l'Islam,' par le R. P. Aurélio Palmiéri. 'Lettre de Jacques d'Edesse sur la généalogie de la Sainte Vierge,' par M. l'Abbé F. Nau. 'Griefs de l'Hellénisme contre la Russie.' 'Vie de Sainte Marine. III. Texte Grec.' 'Traités de Musique Byzantine,' par le R. P. J. Thibaut. 'Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux Frères Grapti,' par le R. P. S. Vailhé. 'La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses,' par le R. P. S. Vailhé. 'La Titulature des Patriarches Grecs-Catholiques-Melkiques,' par H. de Saint-Gulies.

Revue Biblique Internationale, publiée par l'Ecole pratique d'Etudes bibliques établie du Couvent dominicain Saint-Etienne de Jérusalem. (XI. 1. January 1902). R. P. Lagrange, 'Introduction au Livre des Juges.' R. P. Vincent, 'La deuxième enceinte de Jérusalem.' M. Hackspill, 'Etudes sur le milieu religieux et intellectuel contemporain du Nouveau Testament.' 'Analyse de l'Epître aux Hébreux,' R. P. Thien. 'Les Tribus Arabes à l'Est du Jourdain,' R. P. A. Jaussen. 'Notes d'Epigraphie Sémitique, R. P. Lagrange.' And 'Chronicles of Archæological Research.'

The Quarterly Review (January, 1902). 'Fénelon and his Critics.' This article shows us how modern criticism is taking away from Fénelon at least some

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rays from the halo of sanctity which has so long surrounded him. Of the recent biographies perhaps that by Miss Saunders is the least severe, and some, if not all of the charges of inaccuracy brought against this work by the writer of the present article are unwarranted.

The Empire Review (February, 1902). 'The Political Outlook in South Africa,' by the Hon. Charles W. Hutton, shows the essential difference of aim, both religious and political, between the English and the Boers, attributing the long continuance of the war in great measure to the extreme hostility of the Dutch Church.

The Contemporary Review (March, 1902). 'The Increasing Purpose.' In this article Mr. E. Wake Coke propounds his somewhat remarkable theory of the aim of existence. He holds that infinite knowledge is the end of Being, and life an education of experiences. In order to explain the accumulation of experiences he upholds in a modified form the doctrine of metempsychosis. He conceives it possible that a spark of life may take shape in the lowest form of animal being, and pass through a series of existences in an ascending scale of development until every phase of feeling has been experienced and thought expanded, until, transcending limitations, it becomes one with the 'Infinite Mind.'

The Contemporary Review (February, 1902). 'Protestantism in France.' M. Ch. Merle d'Aubigné, in a letter to the editor, contradicts Mr. Heath's statement, in the November issue of the *Contemporary*, that 'Protestantism as a Church is declining,' showing by a reference to facts that exactly the reverse is the case.

Catholic World (January–March, 1902). 'The Pope's Temporal Sovereignty a Providential Fact.' The writer, Mr. Thomas Ellison, maintains that the temporal sovereignty was 'thrust upon' the Pope in times past by Divine intervention, and that therefore it must be God's will that it should continue. 'A Tuscan Good Work: the Congregation of S. Michele dei Santi,' by Montgomery Carmichael. 'Father Hogan and the Intellectual Apostolate,' by the Rev. William L. Sullivan, C.S.P. The writer speaks of the recent translation of Father Hogan's 'Clerical Studies' into French. Certain extracts appear from this work, giving his views of science and religion. Should a difficulty arise 'of accepting an hypothesis of science which conflicts with a genuine doctrine of the Church' the simple safeguard is to be the decision of the Pontiff. We are irresistibly reminded of Galileo. 'A Mobilization of Christian Forces,' an appeal to the Church to convert the democracy. 'Mr. W. H. Mallock on "The Conflict of Science and Religion,"' by the Rev. James Fox. 'Human Love and Divine Love,' by M. D. Petre.

The American Journal of Theology (January, 1902. University of Chicago Press). 'The Outlook of the Twentieth Century in Theology,' by George M. Grant. This article emphasizes the point that theology is a progressive science, and must keep pace with other departments of knowledge, and that the old creeds, however suitable to the times in which they were written, do not satisfy the increased enlightenment of the present century. A new system of theology is therefore needed, and this the writer hopes will be formulated before long. 'Nathanael Emmons,' by Abel Millard, is an interesting account of a Calvinist divine, strict in doctrine, but of a mild and gentle character. 'Horace Bushnell and Albrecht Ritschl,' by George Stevens, is a comparison of the theological methods of these two men, showing the affinity which, in spite of marked differences, exists between them. 'Mohammedan Gnosticism in America,' by Stroyan Krstoff Vatralsky, describes the character and growth of a remarkable

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sect of Mohammedan mystics known as the Truth Knowers. Critical Notes: 'The Text of the Gospels in Alexandria,' by Kirsopp Lake. 'The Beliefs of the American Indians,' by Professor Henry Goodwin Smith; Recent Theological Literature.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review (January, 1902. Philadelphia: MacCalla and Company). 'The Scriptural Doctrine of the Love of God,' by Gerhardus Vos. The writer regrets the present tendency to regard the Almighty as the 'God of love to the exclusion of the other attributes of the Divine nature.' He shows that this view is not warranted by Scripture. 'Two Types of Naturalism,' by Edward Griffin. The philosophies of Spinoza and Herbert Spencer are compared. Both philosophers, though by different methods, arrive at naturalism, that is, they deny the personality alike in God and Man, and it is this doctrine which strikes at once at the root of the Christian faith. 'The Printing of the Westminster Confession in the United States.' 'Dr. McCurdy's "Israel and the Nations,"' by Willis J. Beecher. 'Professor George Adam Smith on Criticism and the Old Testament,' by Matthew Leitch. 'Gunkel on the Legends of Genesis,' by Kerr Duncan Macmillan. 'Ritschl's Great Work in English,' by Henry Collin Minton. Recent Theological Literature.

Economic Review (January 15, 1902). 'Whatever is, is Right,' by the Rev. J. G. Simpson. The writer laments the present temper of self-righteous complacency in this country, from which even the clergy are not exempt. This, he says, is especially evident in our attitude to the Boer War, in which, as usual, financial considerations have largely framed our policy.

The Monthly Review (January, 1902). 'Religio Pueri,' by James H. F. Peile, deals with the religious training of boys.

The Dublin Review (Vol. 130. No. 260. January, 1902. Burns and Oates.) 'The Bishops' Resolutions on Education,' by W. J. B. Richards; with the 'Statement of the Catholic Claim in the Matter of a National System of Education,' by Herbert, Cardinal Vaughan. 'The Law and the Orders in France,' by J. B. Milburn: an interesting article dealing with the present intolerant attitude to the religious orders manifested by the French Government. 'Angélique Arnauld,' by the Comtesse de Courson, is an account of the domineering abbess of Port Royal, and her acceptance of the Jansenist doctrines. 'The Conceivable Dangers of Unbelief,' by J. Godfrey Raupert. The writer argues that harm may come from neglecting the Sacraments, even if we do not understand their value; as a man will die for want of food whatever may be his reasons for refusing to eat. 'The English Pope,' by L. C. Casartelli. 'The Suppression of the Monasteries in Austria under the Emperor Joseph II.' by J. Verrers. 'Johannes Geiler and his Contemporaries' gives a striking picture of this great preacher and reformer, who, in spite of his efforts to root out abuses, remained true to the Catholic Church.

Books Received, Reprints, Pamphlets, Etc.

From Skeffington and Son.

A Handbook for Worshippers at Mattins and Evensong. By Christie Chetwynd Atkinson. 2s. 6d.

Church and Synagogue. By the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, M.A., and the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A.

Will You not Come to the Easter Communion? By the Rev. Canon Hammond, LL.B.

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A Plea for Simplicity in Eucharistic Teaching. By T. J. BALL. 1*s.*

A Modern Pilgrim in Galilee. By JOHN ROOKER, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Twenty Lent Sermons. By Rev. A. G. MORTIMER, D.D. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Repentance and Perseverance. By Rev. WALDEGRAVE BAINBRIDGE-BELL, M.A. 2*s.*

The Inheritors of the Kingdom. By Rev. Canon DUNCAN. 2*s.* 6*d.*

In the Palace of Wisdom. By the Rev. CORNELIUS WITHERBY, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Goodly Heritage. By GEORGIANA M. FORDE. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Passion of Christ. By the Rev. GEORGE ARBUTHNOT, M.A. 2*s.*

From the S.P.C.K.

Suggestions for the Reconstruction of the Coronation Ceremonies. By LEOPOLD G. WICKHAM LEGG, B.A. 6*d.* This contains an interesting attempt a revising the Coronation Service by a capable liturgical scholar, which will we hope become known to the proper authorities.

The Work of the Holy Spirit. By the BISHOP OF TRURO.

Mothering Sunday. By F. S. HOLLINGS. 3*d.*

Bible Readings. 2*d.*

Thoughts for Wakeful Nights. 4*d.*

The Revised Version of the Bible. By the ASSISTANT BISHOP OF MANCHESTER. 2*d.*

The Services rendered by Science to Religion. By C. H. BASIL WOODD, M.A. 2*d.*

The Gospel of the Kingdom. By HENRY BAILEY, D.D. 2*s.*

Lenten Discipline. By W. G. MOSSE, M.A. 1*s.*

The Heart of Jesus. By P. N. WAGGETT, M.A., S.S.J.E. 1*s.* 6*d.* The name of the writer will be a sufficient recommendation of these addresses, delivered during Holy Week and on Good Friday.

Via Salutis. By DOUGLAS MACLEANE, M.A. 1*s.*

We wish particularly to commend *Church Notes and News*, a Supplement to *The Dawn of Day*, which we have found supplied a very marked want in a parish.

From Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

The Baptismal Office and the Order of Confirmation. By the Rev. F. PROCTOR, M.A., and the Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D. 6*d.*

A Primer of the Christian Religion. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children. By HOMER FOLKS. 4*s.* 6*d.*

From Rivington.

The Book of Exodus. By the Rev. H. F. STEWART, M.A. 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Diaconate of Jesus. By C. R. DAVEY BIGGS, D.D. 2*s.*

Thoughts on the Penitential Psalms. By ETHEL ROMANES. 2*s.*

Studies in Holy Scripture. By the Rev. ALFRED G. MORTIMER, D.D. 5*s.*

The Continental Reformation. By the Rev. B. J. KIDD, B.D. 1*s.*

From Wells Gardner, Darton, and Co.

The Sun-Children's Budget.

Rochester Diocesan Directory. 1*s.* 6*d.*

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Reasons Why I am a Catholic and not a Roman Catholic. By the late CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE. 1*s.* 3*d.*

Our Modern Christian Life. By the late Rev. J. P. F. DAVIDSON. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Touch of Faith. By the BISHOP OF LONDON. 6*d.*

From Longmans, Green, and Co.

Suggestions on Prayer. By LUCY H. M. SOULSBY. 1*s.*

The White Stone. By JOHN MCGAW FOSTER. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Help to the Spiritual Interpretation of the Penitential Psalms. By A. B. BAILY-BROWNE. 1*s.*

Christ the Way. By the BISHOP OF OXFORD. 1*s.* 6*d.*

We have also received:

Incense, Viewed from Scripture and History. By W. HARRIS WINTER, A.B., B.D. 1*s.* (Wm. M'Gee and Son.)

St. James's Mount for the Liverpool Cathedral.

The Thing Signified. By J. G. SIMPSON. (Richard Jackson.)

The Catholic Directory. (Burns and Oates, Ltd., 1*s.* 6*d.*)

Notes on the Round Table Conference. By the Rev. N. Dimock. (Elliot Stock, 4*s.*)

The Faith of Old England. By the Rev. VINCENT HORNYOLD, S.J. (Catholic Truth Society, 6*d.*)

Lessons on the Gospel of St. Mark. By the Rev. A. IRVINE ROBERTSON, D.D. (A. and C. Black, 6*d.*)

In Heaviness and in Joy. (Mowbray and Co., 2*s.*)

The Bread of Life. By the Rev. JOHN WORCESTER. (Massachusetts Free Church Union, 20*s.*)

The Psalms. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 6*s.*)

Figures of the True. By the Rev. T. H. PASSMORE, M.A. (Church Review Co., 2*s.*)

The Aberlour Orphanage. By G. B. DAVY. (Robert Grant and Son.)

Early English Church History for the Catechism. By the Rev. EDGAR ROGERS. (George Allen, 3*s.* 6*d.*)

A Three Hours' Service for Good Friday. By W. Walker. 1*s.*

The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians. By G. H. WHITAKER, M.A. 1*s.* 6*d.*

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

PART IV.

To the lists of books prefixed to Parts I, II, and III add the following:

35. *Luther's Primary Works, together with his Shorter and Larger Catechisms.* Translated into English. Edited, with Theological and Historical Essays, by HENRY WACE, D.D., and C. A. BUCHHEIM, Ph.D. (London, 1896.)
36. *Sylloge Confessionum sub tempus reformandae Ecclesiae editarum.* Editio altera et auctior. (Oxonii, 1827.)
37. ZWINGLII *Opera.* (Tiguri, 1581.)
38. M. BUCERI *de vera et falsa Caenae Dominicae Administratione libri duo.* (Neuburgi Danubii, 1546.)
39. MARTINI BUCERI *Scripta Anglicana fere omnia.* (Basileae, 1577.)
40. *Institutio Christianae Religionis.* IOHANNE CALVINO Authore. (Genevae, 1637.)
41. *Acta Genuina SS. Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini ab Angelo Massarello Episcopo Thelesino ejusdem Concilii Secretario conscripta.* Nunc primum integra edita. Ab AUGUSTINO THEINER. (Zagrabiae, 1874.)

THE end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth were times of movement and life. Europe was

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astir with new ideas. Enterprise and investigation, discovery and thought, were active. New knowledge and new methods meant, as always, the challenging of much that was old. Explanation and defence, as well as assertion, were required from the Church; and the challenge which her traditions had to meet was directed not least against the doctrine of the Mass.

XV. The publication of the 'Ninety-five Theses' by Martin Luther at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517, was followed in the latter half of 1520 by his three works usually known as 'The Three Great Reformation Treatises'—namely, *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate, Concerning Christian Liberty, On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church.* The 'theses' dealt chiefly with the nature and effects of penitence. These treatises discussed many theological and other subjects. The third of them, that entitled *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, contained a section 'concerning the Lord's Supper.' From it and from his later *Short Catechism* and *Greater Catechism* may be gathered Luther's opinions as to the doctrine and use of the Holy Eucharist.

In the part of *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church* in which he deals with this subject Luther begins by limiting the number of the Sacraments to 'three, Baptism, Penance, and the Bread,' though, he says, it would be 'according to the usage of Scripture' to 'hold that there was only one Sacrament and three sacramental signs.'[1] After putting aside the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel 'as not saying a single syllable about the Sacrament,'[2] he maintains at some length that the Eucharist ought to be received in both kinds by all.[3] He then proceeds to discuss the doctrine of this Sacrament. Having considered the alternatives that there is 'real bread and real wine' remaining after consecration,

[1] *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, p. 301. (The references to this treatise and to the *Short Catechism* and the *Greater Catechism* are to the edition by Dr. Wace and Dr. Buchheim, prefixed to this article.)

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Op. cit.* pp. 302–10.

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and that 'only their accidents' remain, he has 'established' his 'conscience'

'in the former opinion, namely, that there is real bread and real wine, in which is the real Flesh and real Blood of Christ, in no other manner and in no less degree than the other party assert them to be under the accidents.'[1]

Thus, for himself, he rejects the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation. He does not, however, claim that all others also should reject it. His contention is that, while it is lawful as an opinion, it may not be imposed as of faith.

'I quite consent, then,' he says, 'that whoever chooses to hold either opinion should do so. My only object now is to remove scruples of conscience, so that no man may fear being guilty of heresy if he believes that real bread and real wine are present on the altar. Let him know that he is at liberty, without peril to his salvation, to imagine, think, or believe in either of the two ways, since here there is no necessity of faith.'[2]

'In the Sacrament it is not necessary to the presence of the real Body and real Blood that the bread and wine should be transubstantiated, so that Christ may be contained beneath the accidents; but while both bread and wine continue there, it can be said with truth, "This bread is My Body; this wine is My Blood," and conversely. Thus for the present will I understand this matter in honour of the holy words of God, which I will not allow to have violence done them by the petty reasonings of men, or to be distorted into meanings alien to them. I give leave, however, to others to follow the other opinion, which is distinctly laid down in the decretal, provided only (as I have said) they do not press us to accept their opinions as articles of faith.'[3]

Leaving it lawful, in his judgment, either to accept or to reject the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation, Luther vehemently asserts, as in the passage quoted above, that he 'will not allow' 'the holy words of God' 'to have violence done them by the petty reasonings of men, or to be distorted into meanings alien to them.' This is the ground which he takes continually in maintaining the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ.

'If, for my part,' he says, 'I cannot understand how the bread

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 311. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Op. cit.* pp. 316, 317.

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can be the Body of Christ, I will bring my understanding into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and firmly believe, in simple adherence to His Word, not only that the Body of Christ is in the bread, but that the bread is the Body of Christ.'[1]

But in his mind, so far from Transubstantiation being the only possible method of the accomplishment of the words of Christ, it is not implied in the literal meaning of Holy Scripture,[2] and was not held by the Church for 'more than twelve centuries.'[3] Nor is the assertion of it required by reason as a condition of maintaining the real presence of the Body and Blood:

'Why should not Christ be able to include His Body within the substance of bread, as well as within the accidents? Fire and iron, two different substances, are so mingled in red-hot iron that every part of it is both fire and iron. Why may not the glorious Body of Christ much more be in every part of the substance of the bread?'[4]

Up to this point the teaching of Luther about the Eucharist in this treatise has been very clear. The bread and the wine are the Body and Blood of Christ because He Himself has said so. They are still bread and wine as well as the Body and Blood of Christ. On his view the Body and Blood are as really present as on the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation, which, though it may be held by those who wish for it, is not to be imposed on any as of faith. A long passage of great difficulty and obscurity follows. The main object is evidently to reject the idea that the celebration of the Eucharist is the performance of a good work and the offering of a sacrifice. Against this idea, he maintains that in the words of institution, 'and absolutely in nothing else, lies the whole force, nature, and substance of the Mass';[5] that 'the Mass or Sacrament of the altar is the testament of Christ, which He left behind Him at His death, to be distributed to those who believe in Him,' and 'a promise of the remission of sins made to us by God, and such a promise as has been confirmed by the death of the Son of

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 316.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 312, 313.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 313.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Op. cit.* p. 318.

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God';[1] that it is therefore to be approached 'by no works, no strength, no merits, but by faith alone';[2] that, though prayers are offered in connexion with it, it is itself 'a gift from' God, and not an offering made by man to Him;[3] and that, consequently, it is not a 'sacrifice.'[4] The bread and the wine are, indeed,

'presented beforehand to receive a blessing, that they may be sanctified by the word and prayer. But after being blessed and consecrated, they are no longer offered, but are received as a gift from God. And in this matter let the priest consider that the Gospel is to be preferred to all canons and collects composed by men; and the Gospel, as we have seen, does not allow the Mass to be a sacrifice.'[5]

Amid all which is obscure in this treatment of the subject the denial of the Eucharistic sacrifice is plain. And there is one passage which, in distinction from the clear assertions of the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ previously referred to, strongly recalls the writings of John Wessel,[6] which Luther at this time does not appear to have read.[7] He there writes:

'In the Mass the Word of Christ is the testament; the bread and wine are the Sacrament. And as there is greater power in the word than in the sign, so is there greater power in the testament than in the Sacrament. A man can have and use the word or testament without the sign or Sacrament. "Believe," saith Augustine, "and thou hast eaten"; but in what do we believe except in the word of Him who promises? Thus I can have the Mass daily, nay hourly, since, as often as I will, I can set before myself the words of Christ, and nourish and strengthen my faith in them; and this is in very truth spiritual eating and drinking.'[8]

The *Short Catechism* defines 'the Sacrament of the altar' as

'the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 319. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 320.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 333. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Op. cit.* p. 336.
[6] See Part III of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, pp. 453, 454.
[7] See Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, viii. 359.
[8] *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, p. 326.

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bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, under the institution of Christ Himself.'[1]

In the *Greater Catechism* he says that 'the Sacrament of the altar' is

'the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in and under the bread and wine, through Christ's word, appointed for us Christians to eat and drink. . . . The word, I say, is what makes and distinguishes the Sacrament, so that it is not mere bread and wine, but is, and is called, the Body and Blood of Christ; for it is written, "Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum," when the word is added to the outward thing, it becomes a Sacrament. This saying of St. Augustine is so precise and well expressed that he has scarcely said anything better. The word must make the element a Sacrament, otherwise it remains a mere element. Now, it is the word and ordinance, not of a prince or an emperor, but of the Most High God; wherefore all His creatures shall fall at His feet, saying, Yea, it shall be as He says, and shall be accepted in all honour, fear, and humility. With these words thou canst strengthen thy conscience and say, Even though a hundred thousand devils, with all their fanatics, were to come and ask, How can bread and wine be the Body and Blood of Christ, etc.? yet I know that all the spirits and learned men together are not so wise as is the little finger of the Almighty. And we have here Christ's own words, "Take, eat; this is My Body: drink ye all of it; this is the new testament in My Blood."'[2]

Continually in his other writings Luther insists on the point that Christ has said that the bread and the wine are His Body and Blood; and that therefore, whatever difficulties may be presented to reason by this statement, it must be resolutely affirmed.[3] And he was careful to deny the charge of a material view of 'impanation' brought against him by his opponents, on the ground of his assertions of the continued existence of the bread and wine:

'We poor sinners,' he says, 'are not so foolish as to believe that the Body of Christ exists in the bread in the same visible manner in

[1] *Short Catechism*, p. 17.

[2] *Greater Catechism*, pp. 144, 145.

[3] See Gieseler, *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, v. 338, 339 (English translation); Hagenbach, *History of Christian Doctrines*, iii. 157–59 (English translation).

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which bread is in the basket, or wine in the goblet, as the enthusiasts would lay to our charge, in order to deride our foolishness.'[1]

In Luther's later teaching the subject of the Eucharistic presence was complicated by the view he adopted of the ubiquity of the Manhood, and consequently of the Body, of Christ.[2]

The authoritative documents drawn up by the early Lutherans contain much the same doctrine as that in the writings of Luther himself. A conference held at Marburg in October 1529 had failed to draw up a statement about the Eucharist which both Lutherans and Zwinglians could accept. Definitions, about a part of which there had been agreement at Marburg, were made the basis of a series of seventeen articles assented to by Lutheran representatives at Schwabach in the same month. These, again, supplied the foundation of the 'Confession of Augsburg.' This document was drawn up by Melancthon, received the commendation of Luther, was signed by representatives of the German States,[3] and was presented to the Emperor Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg on June 25, 1530. The tenth article of the 'Confession' itself was entitled, 'Concerning the Lord's Supper.' It stated:

'Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are really present (vere adsint), and are given (distribuantur) to those who partake (vescentibus) at the Supper of the Lord; and they condemn those who teach otherwise.'[4]

An Appendix on the Amendment of Abuses contained a lengthy statement headed, 'Concerning the Mass.' This statement repudiated the idea that the Lutherans had

[1] Luther, *Werke*, xx. 1012 (Walch's edition), quoted in Hagenbach, *op. cit.* iii. 158, 159.

[2] See Hagenbach, *op. cit.* iii. 159. *Cf.* Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vii. 261-66 (English translation).

[3] John, Elector of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, Duke of Lüneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; John Frederick, Electoral Prince of Saxony; Francis, Duke of Lüneburg; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; the Senate and Magistracy of Nürnberg; and the Senate of Reutlingen.

[4] *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 126.

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'abolished the Mass,' 'for the Mass is retained among us, and is celebrated with the greatest reverence'; condemned in strong terms the custom of payments for Masses; explained the restriction of the celebration of Mass to occasions when there were communicants by asserting that 'private Masses' (privatae missae) had been inextricably mingled with the practice of paying for them; and referred to the errors in which the Mass had been regarded as a satisfaction for actual sin parallel to the death of our Lord as a satisfaction for original sin, and was viewed as a 'work (opus) blotting out the sins of the living and the dead by the mere fact of its being offered (ex opere operato).'[1] Moreover, the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist appears to have been limited to that expressed in the words—

'Christ commanded to do in remembrance of Him (facere in sui memoriam); wherefore the Mass has been instituted that in those who use the Sacrament their faith may recollect (recordetur) what benefits it receives by means of Christ, and may establish and comfort the timid conscience. For this is to remember (meminisse) Christ, to remember (meminisse) and feel that the benefits are really presented (vere exhibeantur) to us. Nor is it enough to recollect (recordari) a history; because even the Jews and the wicked can recollect (recordari) this. The Mass, then, is to be celebrated (facienda) for this purpose, that in it the Sacrament may be given (porrigatur) to those who have need of comfort, as Ambrose says, Because I sin ever, I ought ever to receive the cure.'[2]

Ten years later, in 1540, the 'Confession of Augsburg' was revised by Melancthon, partly as an attempt to find a means of agreement between the Lutherans and the followers of Zwingli. In this new edition the tenth article was modified so as to be—

'Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that together with (cum) the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ are really presented (vere exhibeantur) to those who partake (vescentibus) at the Supper of the Lord.'[3]

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 138–41. On the views of the Eucharist referred to compare Part III. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1902, pp. 445, 446.

[2] *Syll. Conf.* p. 140.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 172.

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In this form of the article there were four important alterations. The express assertion 'together with the bread and wine' was added. The declaration that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are really present' was omitted. The statement that the Body and Blood of Christ are 'given' (distribuantur) to the communicants was altered to a statement that they are 'presented' (exhibeantur) to them, so as to avoid what was held to be an explicit assertion that the Body and Blood of Christ are given in the Sacrament even to those who communicate unworthily. The words 'they condemn those who teach otherwise' were omitted.

In the Appendix on the Amendment of Abuses as altered in 1540 the section 'Concerning the Mass' followed in an enlarged form the lines adopted in 1530. Like Luther himself, it appears, in clearing away perverted ideas about the Eucharistic sacrifice, to deny the sacrifice in any ordinary sense. Among the statements contained in it are the following:

'The Mass has been instituted for a recollection (recordationem), that is, that those who use the Lord's Supper may by the recollection (recordatione) of the benefit of Christ stablish and strengthen their faith and comfort their terrified consciences. Nor is the Mass a satisfaction for penalty (poena), but it has been instituted for the sake of remission of guilt (propter remissionem culpae), that is, not that it may be a satisfaction for guilt (culpa), but that it may be a Sacrament by the use of which we may be reminded (admoneamur) of the benefit of Christ and of the remission of guilt (culpae).'[1]

'The chief reason for the institution is that faith may be there aroused (excitetur) and exercised (exerceatur) when we receive this pledge (pignus) of grace.'[2]

In 1551 Melancthon again revised the 'Confession of Augsburg,' and it was published in an altered and enlarged form as the 'Saxon Confession.' It represents substantially the same position as the 'Confession of Augsburg.' On two matters statements contained in it may be noticed. With regard to the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist it is said:

'The ancient Church uses the words sacrifice and offering, but

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 194. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 196.

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thereby understands the whole action, prayer, reception, recollection (recordationem), faith, hope, confession, and thanksgiving. This whole inner and outer action, in one converted to God, and in the whole Church, is in very truth a sacrifice of praise, or Eucharistic (εὐχαριστικόν), and a reasonable service (λογικὴ λατρεία); and, when the Lord says, "The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth," He affirms that there are not ordered in the New Testament any external sacrifices which must be offered even if there be no movements of the Holy Ghost in the heart, as under the law it was necessary for the Paschal ceremony to be observed.'[1]

'We preserve the whole rite of the Church of the Apostles. And it is a continual sacrifice to proclaim the uncorrupted doctrine of the Gospel and to call on God rightly; lastly, as the Lord says, to "worship the Father in spirit and in truth." Here also we hold fast the right (verum) use of the Sacraments. Since we preserve all these things most faithfully, we preserve with the greatest reverence the continual sacrifice.'[2]

With regard to the use of the Sacrament outside the service for Communion it is said:

'One part of the Sacrament is taken away from the people' [*i.e.* by the opponents of the Lutherans and other Reformers]; 'the other part also is carried about outside the ordained use (extra usum institutum circumfertur), and is adored contrary to the nature of the Sacrament (contra rationem sacramenti).'[3]

'The Sacraments are actions ordained by God, and the things themselves (res ipsas) have not the nature of a Sacrament (rationem sacramenti) outside the ordained use (extra usum institutum), but in the ordained use (in usu instituto) Christ is really and substantially (vere et substantialiter) present in this Communion, and the Body and Blood of Christ are really presented (vere exhiberi) to those who receive (sumentibus), and Christ bears witness that He is in them and that He makes them His members, and that He has washed them with His Blood, as also Hilary says, "When this is taken and drunk it brings about both that we are in Christ and that Christ is in us."'[4]

'Since a rite outside the ordained use (ritus extra usum institutum) has not the nature of a Sacrament (rationem sacramenti), let the devout and learned consider what a service (cultus) of idols takes place there. It is also clear sacrilege (manifesta profanatio) to carry

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 284.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 286, 287.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 241.
[4] *Op. cit.* p. 282.

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about part of the Lord's Supper and adore it, where in truth a part is put to a use wholly different from that which was ordained (usum toto genere diversum ab institutione), since the text says, "Take, eat," and since this spectacle is of late date.'[1]

Ulrich Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer, was a contemporary of Luther. Like Luther, he dissented from the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Unlike him, he abandoned also belief in the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Regarding Sacraments as signs only, he maintained that our Lord's words at the institution were figurative; that the bread and the wine are only symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ; and that they become holy merely in the way by which

'a flower is more noble when it is put in the wreath of a bride than if it be used in some more common way, though as to its matter it be one and the same as the other flowers; and as one who takes from the king his signet ring is reckoned far more guilty than if he had taken only so much gold, though the matter be one and the same.'[2]

So he explained eating the Flesh and drinking the Blood of Christ to denote trust in Him as having given His Flesh and Blood for our life, and regarded the Eucharist as a commemoration to Christians of the death of Christ, and not in any sense a sacrifice to the Father of Christ's Body and Blood.[3] In the conference at Marburg in 1529, already mentioned, an attempt was made to formulate a statement of Eucharistic doctrine upon which Zwingli and Luther, and their followers, could agree. It proved impossible to do so.

It was the aim of Martin Bucer to discover a means of reconciliation between the doctrine of Luther and that of Zwingli. With Luther, he asserted that the communicant receives the Body and Blood of Christ. With Zwingli, he denied that the Body and the Blood are to be connected with

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 285.

[2] Zwingli, Sermon preached at Bern in 1528 (*Werke*, ii. 270; *Opera*, ii. 532).

[3] Zwingli, *De vera et falsa Religione* (*Opera*, ii. 202–16); *De Caena Dom. plana brevisque Institutio* (*Opera*, ii. 272–95); *Fid. Christ. Expos.* (*Opera*, ii. 554–57).

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the sacramental signs. According to his teaching, that which is received in the Sacrament is only bread and wine; but, in receiving it, the faith of the communicant uplifts him to a real, though spiritual, participation in the Body and Blood of our Lord in heaven.[1] The 'First Helvetic Confession,' which was drawn up in 1536, probably bears the mark of Bucer's work. On the subject of the Eucharist it states:

'In the Eucharist bread and wine are the signs. But the thing (res) is the communication of the Body of Christ, the accomplished salvation (parta salus), and the remission of sins, which indeed are received (percipiuntur) by faith, as the signs by the body, and in the thing itself (in ipsa re) is the whole fruit of the Sacraments. Wherefore we assert that the Sacraments are not only certain marks of the society of Christians (quasdam tesseras societatis Christianae), but also symbols of the grace of God, by which the ministers co-operate with the Lord to that end which He Himself promises, offers, and effects; yet in such a way that, as has been said of the ministry of the Word, all the power of salvation (virtus salvifica) is ascribed to the Lord alone.'[2]

'The mystic Supper is that in which the Lord really (vere) offers His Body and Blood, that is, Himself to His people, so that more and more He may live in them and they in Him; not that the Body and Blood of the Lord are naturally united to the bread and wine, but that the bread and wine are ordained by the Lord to be symbols by which the real (vera) communication of His Body and Blood may be presented (exhibeatur) by the Lord Himself by means of the ministry of the Church not for food of the belly that shall perish but for the sustenance of eternal life. Therefore we often use this sacred food, since by His command, beholding the death of the Crucified and His Blood with the eyes of faith, and contemplating our salvation not without taste of the life of heaven and a true sense of eternal life, we are re-made with ineffable sweetness by this spiritual, lifegiving, and inner food, and we exult with joy which no words can describe because of the life we have found, and we all with all our strength pour out thanksgiving for the wonderful kindness of Christ towards us.'[3]

The doctrine formulated by Calvin carried further the

[1] Bucer, *Exomologesis* (in *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 538–45); *Ep. ad Pet. Mart.* (in *op. cit.* pp. 546–50); *Propositiones novem de S. Euch.* (in *op. cit.*, p. 611).

[2] *Syll. Conf.* pp. 106–7.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 107.

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attempt to find a middle position between Luther and Zwingli. It united a strong denial that the elements are the Body and Blood of Christ with a strong affirmation that the Body and Blood are received by the faithful communicant.

'There are,' he says, 'two faults to be avoided, so that we may not unduly depreciate the signs and separate them from the mysteries to which in some way they are attached, or excessively exalt them and seem to obscure the mysteries themselves. That Christ is the Bread of life by which the faithful are nourished unto eternal life no one who is not utterly irreligious would fail to admit. But there is not equal agreement as to what is the method of partaking of Him. For there are those who define the eating of the Flesh of Christ and the drinking His Blood as nothing else than believing on Him. But to me Christ seems to have intended to teach something more express and sublime in that famous discourse in which He commends to us the eating of His Flesh, namely, that we are quickened by a real (vera) participation of Him, which He described by the words eating and drinking so that no one should think that the life which we receive from Him is received by mere thought (simplici cognitione). . . . There is this difference between my words and theirs that to them to eat is only to believe, and that therefore by believing the Flesh of Christ is eaten because He is made ours by faith, whereas I say that this eating is the fruit and result of faith. Or, if you desire a clearer statement, to them eating is faith, to me it seems rather to result from faith. . . . By calling Himself the Bread of Life the Lord willed to teach, not only that salvation is laid up for us in faith on His death and resurrection, but also that it is accomplished by a real (vera) communication of Himself that His life passes into us and becomes ours, not otherwise than bread, when it is taken for nourishment, supplies strength to the body.'[1]

'If, in so great distance of place, it seems incredible that the Flesh of Christ should reach to us (penetrare ad nos) so as to be our food, let us remember how greatly the hidden power of the Holy Ghost surpasses all our senses, and how foolish it is to wish that His limitless force (immensitatem) be measured by our standard. What then our mind does not understand, let faith receive, namely, that the Holy Ghost really (vere) unites what is apart in place. . . When the symbol of the Body is received, let us believe that no less certainly the Body itself is given to us.'[2]

[1] Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, IV. xvii. 5.
[2] *Op. cit.* IV. xvii. 10.

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Calvin rejected the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass as taught in his day, and described it as a 'most pestilent error' and an 'abomination.'[1] In doing so he rejected also any idea of a sacrificial offering in the Eucharist other than that in all Christian prayer. The two following passages, taken together, appear to be representative of his general position on this subject:

'When the sacrifice was accomplished, the Lord instituted another method' [than that appointed for the Jews] 'for us, namely to bestow on the faithful people the fruit of the sacrifice offered to Him by His Son. Therefore He has given us a table at which to feast, not an altar on which to offer a sacrifice; He has not consecrated priests to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the sacred banquet.'[2]

'In the other kind of sacrifice, which we have called Eucharistic (εὐχαριστικόν), are contained all the offices of love with which, while we embrace our brethren, we honour the Lord Himself in His members, then all our prayers, praises, thanksgivings, and whatever is done by us for the worship of God. . . . This kind of sacrifice the Lord's Supper cannot be without, in which, while we announce His death and return thanks, we offer nothing else than a sacrifice of praise. From this duty of sacrifice we Christians are all called a royal priesthood, because by means of Christ we offer that sacrifice of praise to God of which the Apostle speaks, the fruit of lips which make confession to His name.'[3]

The 'Belgic Confession' of 1561 is a statement of doctrine drawn up to show the tenets of the Calvinistic Reformers. The article on the Eucharist does not differ materially from the teaching of Calvin himself. In it is said:

'As really (vere) as we receive and hold in our hands this Sacrament, and eat it with our mouths, . . . so really (vere) also do we by faith . . . receive the real (verum) Body and the real (verum) Blood of our only Saviour Christ in our souls. . . . The instrument, or means, whereby we eat and drink these is not the mouth of our body, but our spirit itself, and that by faith. Therefore Christ dwells always at the right hand of the Father in heaven, but He none the less for that communicates Himself to us through faith.'[4]

[1] *Op. cit.* IV. xviii. 1, 18.
[2] *Op. cit.* IV. xviii. 12.
[3] *Op. cit.* IV. xviii. 16, 17.
[4] *Syll. Conf.* p. 351.

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The 'Catechism of Heidelberg,' drawn up in 1563, contains a similar doctrine. In answer to the question, 'What is to eat the crucified Body of Christ, and to drink His outpoured Blood?' the reply is made:

'It is not only to embrace the whole Passion and death of Christ with sure confidence of mind, and by means of this to obtain remission of sins and eternal life; but also to be united more and more to His most sacred Body by means of the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us, so that, though He is in heaven and we on earth, yet none the less we may be flesh of His Flesh and bone of His Bones, and that as all the members of the body by one soul so we may be quickened and ruled by one and the same Spirit.'[1]

The positions of the Continental Reformers of the sixteenth century may, then, be summed up as follows. The opinion of Luther was that the Body and Blood of Christ are as really present in the sacramental elements as the advocates of Transubstantiation maintained, but that the bread and wine remain in all their natural reality. By his followers this presence of the Body and Blood was limited so as not to remain if the Sacrament was not being used for the purpose ordained by God, namely Communion. Zwingli regarded the bread and wine as symbols only, and as in no sense conveying the Body and Blood of Christ to the communicant. Bucer, while rejecting Luther's view, held that the faithful communicant has real participation in the heavenly life of Christ in connexion with the reception of the Sacrament. As a development of this, it was maintained by Calvin that the elements remain bread and wine only, but that Christ communicates His Body and Blood to those who receive the Sacrament with faith. All alike rejected the Eucharistic sacrifice as the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ to the Father by the priest and the Church, though some of them admitted that the Eucharist may be called a sacrifice in the sense in which that term may be applied to all kinds of Christian prayer and service of God.

XVI. The doctrine and use of the Holy Eucharist were considered and discussed at great length by the Council of Trent. In 1534 Paul III. became Pope. Shortly after his

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 379.

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accession he determined to summon a Council to consider the affairs of the Church. It was at first ordered that the Council should meet at Mantua in 1537. Various circumstances occurred to cause delay, and the first session was held at Trent in 1545. In 1547 the sittings of the Council were transferred to Bologna, and in the same year were suspended. Up to this point in the proceedings the chief subjects considered in all the sessions except the last were the Creed, Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of Grace. At the seventh session, which preceded the transference to Bologna, the Council affirmed thirteen canons on the Sacraments in general, fourteen canons on Baptism, and three canons on Confirmation. In those on the Sacraments in general the number of the Sacraments was declared to be seven, of which the Eucharist was one; views placing the Christian Sacraments on a level with those of the Jews, making the seven Sacraments equal to one another, and denying the necessity of the Christian Sacraments to salvation, were condemned;[1] and among the other statements were the following:

'If anyone shall say that these Sacraments were instituted only to nourish faith, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that the Sacraments of the new law do not contain the grace which they signify, or that they do not confer grace itself on those who place no obstacle (obicem), as if they were only external signs of the grace or righteousness which are received by means of faith, and certain marks of Christian profession by which the faithful are distinguished among men from the unbelievers, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that grace is not given by means of Sacraments of this kind always and to all, so far as the part of God is concerned, even if they duly receive them, but sometimes and to some, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that grace is not conferred from the work wrought (ex opere operato) by means of the Sacraments of the new law themselves, but that faith in the promise of God is sufficient by itself for the reception of grace, let him be anathema.'[2]

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. vii., De Sacr. in gen., canons 1–4: Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 52.

[2] Council of Trent, Sess. vii., De Sacr. in gen., canons 5–8: Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 52.

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The sessions held at Bologna (the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, following the eighth, at which the transference from Trent to Bologna was determined) transacted little but formal business.

In 1551 Pope Julius III. summoned the Council to resume its sittings, and it met at Trent on May 1 in that year. Between that date and April 28, 1552, when the proceedings were again suspended, the subjects of the Eucharist, Penance and Extreme Unction were considered. With regard to the Eucharist, the first step was to draw up a statement of the opinions of the different schools of Reformers. This statement is of some importance, as giving a brief abstract, apparently mostly made with great fairness, of the teaching of the Reformers, and as showing that the difference between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians was clearly understood by those who drew it up. Omitting the explanatory comments which assign the opinions mentioned to the different Reformers and give brief quotations, the statement is as follows:

'1. The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are not really (revera) in the Eucharist, nor is His divinity, but only as in a sign.'

'2. Christ is presented to communicants (exhiberi) in the Eucharist, but only spiritually, to be eaten by means of faith, not sacramentally.'

'3. In the Eucharist there is indeed the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, but together with the substance of the bread and the wine, so that there is no Transubstantiation, but a hypostatic union of the humanity and the substance of the bread and the wine,[1] so that it is true to say, This bread is My Body, and this wine is My Blood.'

'4. The Eucharist was instituted only for the remission of sins.'

'5. Christ is not to be adored in the Eucharist, nor to be venerated on the feasts, nor to be carried about in processions, nor to be taken to the sick; and those who thus adore Him are real idolators.'

[1] It may be questioned whether the phrase 'hypostatic union' fairly represents the doctrine of Luther, whose teaching is here described. The quotations which follow in the document do not add anything to the description of his position which has been given in this article.

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'6. The Eucharist is not to be reserved in the sanctuary, but is to be consumed at once, and given to those who are present; and those who act otherwise abuse this Sacrament. Nor is it lawful for anyone to give Communion to himself.'

'7. The Body of Christ does not remain in the consecrated hosts or particles after the Communion, but is there only while it is being received, not before or after reception.'

'8. It is of the law of God to give Communion to the people and to little children under both kinds; and therefore they sin who compel the people to use one kind only.'

'9. As much is not contained under one kind as under both, neither does a communicant under one kind receive as much as a communicant under both.'

'10. Faith by itself is sufficient preparation for the reception of the Sacrament, neither is confession before it necessary, but free, especially to the instructed. Nor are men under obligation to communicate at Easter.'[1]

This statement was submitted to the consideration of a large number of theologians present at Trent. Their reports, as given by Angelo Massarello, the Bishop of Telese, the secretary of the Council, are strongly hostile to all the teaching described in it.[2] As a result of their consideration of these matters, all the theologians consulted advised the absolute condemnation of the first, third, fifth, seventh, and eighth propositions, and the first part of the sixth. Some of them suggested that the condemnation of the second, fourth, ninth, and tenth propositions, and the second part of the sixth should be qualified by careful distinctions as to the sense in which the condemnation was made.[3] The fathers of the Council after lengthy discussions drew up and affirmed a statement of doctrine and a number of canons.[4] In the statement of doctrine it was declared that 'after the consecration of the bread and wine our Lord Jesus Christ' 'is contained (contineri) in the' 'Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist' 'really (vere), actually (realiter), and substantially (substantialiter)'; that our Lord is 'ever at the right hand of the

[1] Theiner, *Acta Genuina SS. Oec. Conc. Trid.* i. 488, 489.
[2] Theiner, *op. cit.* i. 490–501.
[3] Theiner, *op. cit.* i. 501, 502.
[4] Theiner, *op. cit.* i. 502–29.

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Father in heaven after the natural manner of being (juxta modum exsistendi naturalem),' but is 'with us sacramentally in His substance (sacramentaliter praesens sua substantia nobis adsit) in that method of being which' 'we can scarcely express in words,' but which is 'possible to God'; that after consecration 'the whole and complete Christ is present under the form (specie) of bread, and under any part of the same form (speciei), also under the form (specie) of wine, and under the parts of it'; and the truth of Transubstantiation, the lawfulness and need of adoring the Sacrament, of reservation, of confession before Communion in the case of any who are conscious of mortal sin, were affirmed.[1] The canons put in a short form and made obligatory that which was thus declared. The most important of them, so far as the declaration of doctrine is concerned, were the following:

'If anyone shall deny that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist is contained (contineri) really (vere), actually (realiter), and substantially (substantialiter) the Body and Blood together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore the whole Christ, but shall say that He is in it only as in a sign or a figure or in power (virtute), let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of the bread and the wine remains together with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and unique change of the whole substance of the bread into the Body and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood, which change the Catholic Church most fitly (aptissime) calls Transubstantiation, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall deny that in the venerable Sacrament of the Eucharist the whole Christ is contained (contineri) under each kind (specie), and under every separate part of each kind (speciei), when they are divided, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are not in the wonderful Sacrament of the Eucharist after consecration, but only in use while it is being received, but not before or after; and that the real (verum) Body of the Lord does not remain in the consecrated hosts or particles which are reserved or are left over after Communion, let him be anathema.'[2]

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xiii.; Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 79–82.

[2] Council of Trent, Sess. xiii., canons 1–4: Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 83.

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The reports of the theologians and the discussions of the fathers of the Council show the grounds on which these decisions are based. Scripture and tradition alike, it was maintained, required belief that the consecrated Sacrament is the Body and Blood of Christ. From this fundamental belief the rest was held to follow by necessary processes of logic. The Lateran Council of 1215 had affirmed the truth of Transubstantiation, and the divines at Trent regarded such an affirmation as requisite to the maintenance of the doctrine which Scripture and tradition were declared to teach. The scholastic subtleties of the Middle Ages, philosophical questions as to the method of the change, were to a large extent laid aside; but the change of the whole substance of the bread and the wine into the Body and Blood of Christ was expressly affirmed; and the continuance of the substance of the bread and the wine after consecration was expressly denied.

It was determined that the practical questions as to Communion in one or in both kinds and as to the Communion of little children should be postponed. Most of the rest of 1551 was devoted to the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. In December 1551 the consideration of the sacrifice of the Mass was begun. The first step was, again, to submit the teaching of the different schools of Reformers to the judgment of the theologians attending the Council.

The statement thus presented to the theologians contained the following propositions:[1]

'1. The Mass is not a sacrifice, nor an offering for sins, but only the commemoration of the sacrifice accomplished on the cross, though it is metaphorically (translato nomine) called a sacrifice by the Fathers. It is not really (vere) and properly a sacrifice, but only a testament and promise of the remission of sins.'

'2. The Mass is not of the Gospel, nor was it instituted by Christ, but it was invented by men; neither is it a good work, or meritorious; rather in it is committed manifest and multiple idolatry.'

'3. Blasphemous despite is done to the most holy sacrifice of

[1] We omit, as in the statement about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the comments which ascribe the propositions to the different Reformers and give references.

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Christ accomplished on the cross if anyone believes that the Son of God is offered anew to God the Father by priests in the Mass. That Christ is mystically sacrificed and offered is nothing else than that He is given to us to be eaten. And in the words, Do this for My memorial, Christ did not ordain that the Apostles should offer His Body and Blood in the sacrifice of the Mass.'

'4. The Canon of the Mass is full of mistakes and delusions, ought to be abolished, and is to be avoided no less than the worst abomination.'

'5. The Mass is not profitable as a sacrifice to either the living or the dead; and it is impious to apply it for sins, satisfactions, and other needs.'

'6. As no one communicates for another, or is absolved for another, so neither in the Mass can a priest offer sacrifice for another.'

'7. Private Masses, that is, those in which the priest alone, and no other, communicates, did not exist before Gregory the Great, and are unlawful and to be abolished, and are in conflict with the institution of Christ, and present excommunication rather than the communion ordained by Christ.'

'8. Wine is not the matter of this sacrifice. Neither is water to be mixed with the wine in the chalice. So to mix it is contrary to the institution of Christ.'

'9. The rite of the Church of Rome by which the words of consecration are said secretly and in a low voice is to be condemned; and the Mass ought not to be celebrated except in the vernacular language which all understand; and it is an imposture to assign certain Masses to certain saints.'

'10. In the celebration of Masses all ceremonies, vestments, and outward signs are incitements to impiety rather than offices of piety. And as the Mass of Christ was most simple, so the nearer and the more like a Mass is to that first Mass of all the more Christian it is.'[1]

The reports of the theologians had been made, and discussions of the fathers of the Council had taken place, and canons had been drawn up for examination on this subject and on that of the Sacrament of Orders, when the Council was again suspended on April 28, 1552.

In 1560 the Council was reassembled by the order of Pope Pius IV.; in June 1562 four canons were affirmed denying

[1] Theiner, *op. cit.* i. 602, 603.

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the necessity of Communion in both kinds and of the Communion of little children;[1] in September 1562, after much discussion, the question whether the reception of the chalice should be allowed in some places under certain conditions was remitted to the Pope;[2] in July 1562 the consideration of the Sacrifice of the Mass was resumed.[3]

A series of thirteen questions on the points raised by the propositions contained in the list drawn up in December 1551 was submitted to the theologians. After fresh consideration by the theologians and discussion by the fathers of the Council, a statement of doctrine and canons giving effect to it were drawn up and presented to the Council, and were affirmed in September 1562. The statement of doctrine recounted the institution of the Sacrament in which our Lord, 'though about to offer Himself once to God the Father on the altar of the cross,' 'yet left to' 'the Church a visible sacrifice,' 'whereby that bloody sacrifice once to be accomplished on the cross might be represented (repraesentaretur) and His memorial might abide even to the end of the world, and the saving power of the sacrifice on the cross might be applied for the remission of those sins which we daily commit'; and in performance of His office as 'high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' 'offered His own Body and Blood to God the Father under the forms (speciebus) of bread and wine'; and appointed His Apostles 'priests of the new testament' for the performance of the same rite. It further stated that the sacrifice of the Mass is 'really propitiatory (vere propitiatorium),' so that 'through it' those who 'come to God with a true heart and right faith, with fear and reverence, in contrition and penitence, obtain mercy and find grace in time of need'; that 'the victim is one and the same' as on the cross, since He who 'offered Himself on the cross' 'now offers by the ministry of His priests,' 'the method of offering alone being different'; and that the 'fruits' of the Sacrifice of the Cross 'are most richly received' 'by means of this bloodless offering,' and that consequently no despite

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xxi.; Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 122.
[2] Theiner, *op. cit.* ii. 127, 128.
[3] Theiner, *op. cit.* ii. 58.

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is done to the work accomplished on Calvary. It proceeded to justify the association of Masses offered to God with the honour of the saints and the canon and ceremonies of the Mass. On 'private Masses' it was said that it was desirable that some of the faithful should communicate at every Mass, 'in order that the richer fruit of this most holy sacrifice should become theirs'; but that, failing communicants, Masses might be celebrated in which the priest alone communicated; and that such Masses 'ought to be accounted really general (vere communes), partly because in them the people communicate spiritually, and partly because they are celebrated by the public minister of the Church not only for himself, but for all the faithful who pertain to the Body of Christ.' It was laid down that water was to be mixed with the wine, and that the Mass was not to be said in the vernacular, but should be frequently explained to the people.[1] The doctrinal canons were the following:

'If anyone shall say that in the Mass a real (verum) and proper sacrifice is not offered to God, or that no other offering is made than that Christ is given to us to be eaten, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that in the words, Do this for My memorial, Christ did not ordain the Apostles priests, or did not appoint that they and other priests should offer His Body and Blood, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that the sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or is a bare commemoration of the sacrifice accomplished on the cross and not propitiatory, or that it is of profit only to one who communicates, and that it ought not to be offered for the living and the departed, for sins, penalties, satisfactions, and other needs, let him be anathema.'

'If anyone shall say that any blasphemy or despite is done to the most holy sacrifice of Christ accomplished on the cross by means of the sacrifice of the Mass, let him be anathema.'[2]

The grounds on which these decisions were based were the teaching of Scripture and tradition, and the argument derived from the doctrine that the consecrated Sacrament is

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xxii.; Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 126–8.

[2] Council of Trent, Sess. xxii.; De Sacrif. Missae, canons 1–4; Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 129.

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the Body and Blood of Christ, and therefore the same as that which was offered on the cross. It was maintained throughout the reports of the theologians and the discussions of the fathers of the Council that the Mass is one and the same as the sacrifice of the cross, and that, consequently, there is in it no addition to the work done on the cross, but rather an application of the results of it. For the most part any connexion with the heavenly offering of our Lord was out of sight, as in the theology of the schoolmen and the Western teaching after their time generally; but in the consideration of the subject in 1551 and 1552 three of the theologians referred to such a connexion, two in terms of approval, one in condemnation.

'Though the offering of the Eucharist is different in method from the offering of the cross, yet it is the same offering, the same Flesh, and the same Blood, and is offered for the same end, yet under different forms (speciebus). That on the cross was bloody and was offered once; this on the altar is bloodless and is offered daily; the heavenly offering also, which is made by Christ in heaven in the presence of the Father, is bloodless and is ever made; for Christ continually stands in the presence of the Father to appease the wrath of God, making intercession for us. Therefore the sacrifice of the altar is one and the same as that of the cross.'[1]

'The sacrifice of the Mass represents (repraesentat) the invisible sacrifice of Christ in the upper room, and the visible Sacrifice on the cross, and that which Christ continually does, making intercession for us to the Father in heaven. Therefore the Mass represents (repraesentat) all these sacrifices, and is a commemoration of them.'[2]

'Christ not only in the upper room and on the cross, but continually, offers Himself to the Father. Wherefore John says that He ever makes Himself an advocate for us in the presence of the Father and intercedes for us, that is, He presents His own Body to the Father, who was wroth with us. Which, nevertheless, He does not in heaven, offering Himself a sacrifice, but by means of the Eucharist on the altar.'[3]

It may be worth consideration whether it would not have been possible for the Council of Trent to present more

[1] Franciscus Somnius, in Theiner, *op. cit.* i. 612.
[2] Joannes Gropperus, in Theiner, *op. cit.* i. 618.
[3] Ambrosius Pelargus, in Theiner, *op. cit.* i. 621.

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effectively its maintenance of the doctrines that the Mass is a sacrifice, and that there is only one Sacrifice of Christ, if there had been a clearer recognition of the teaching of the Fathers, the mediæval Western liturgical writers, and the Greek theologians of the Middle Ages connecting the Holy Eucharist with the heavenly offering of our Lord.

The instruction to parish priests known as the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* was drawn up in accordance with a decision of the Council, and issued by the order of Pope Pius V. Consequently, while not binding as a matter of faith, it possesses high authority in the Roman Catholic Church. It contains a very lengthy treatment of the Holy Eucharist. In explaining and expanding the decrees of the Council, the *Catechism* affirmed that the Mass is 'not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice which was offered on the cross, but also really (vere) a propitiatory sacrifice,'[1] being 'one and the same sacrifice,'[2] with 'one and the same victim,'[3] and 'one and the same priest'[4] as the sacrifice of the cross; and entered, with greater detail than the decrees of the Council, into the meaning and method of Transubstantiation. It asserted that 'the real (verum) Body of Christ' 'contained in this Sacrament' is 'the very same as that which was born of the Virgin and sits in heaven at the right hand of the Father'; that 'no substance of the elements remains'; that the 'substance of the bread and wine altogether ceases to exist,' so that the 'accidents' 'do not inhere in any substance,' and are 'without any subject,'[5] though the elements 'retain the natural power of nourishing the body';[6] and that Christ 'is not in this Sacrament as in a place.'[7]

Against Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin, then, the divines of Trent affirmed that the consecrated Sacrament is the Body and Blood of Christ. Against Luther they asserted Transubstantiation, though without emphasizing or calling attention in their formal decrees to the philosophical ideas usually

[1] *Cat. Conc. Trid.*, II. iv. 76.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Op. cit.* II. iv. 26, 43.
[4] *Op. cit.* II. iv. 74.
[5] *Op. cit.* II. iv. 75.
[6] *Op. cit.* II. iv. 38.
[7] *Op. cit.* II. iv. 42.

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associated with that word. Against the Continental Reformers in general they maintained that the Eucharist is the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, identical with that which was offered on the cross.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. II.—JOHN RICHARD GREEN.

1. *A Short History of the English People.* By J. R. GREEN. (London: Macmillan and Co., 2nd ed., 1875.)
2. *History of the English People.* By J. R. GREEN, 8 vols. Eversley Series. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895–6.)
3. *The Making of England.* By J. R. GREEN, 2 vols. Eversley Series. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1900.)
4. *The Conquest of England.* By J. R. GREEN, 2 vols. Eversley Series. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899.)
5. *Oxford Studies.* By J. R. GREEN. Edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss K. NORGATE. Eversley Series. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)
6. *Stray Studies from England and Italy.* By J. R. GREEN. Eversley Series. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892.)
7. *Letters of John Richard Green.* Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)

THE reprint of Mr. J. R. Green's works in that handy and attractive form which Messrs. Macmillan and Co. know so well how to turn out should be warmly welcomed by all students of English History, and by none more than by English Churchmen. For though Mr. Green cannot be regarded as personally a consistent Churchman, he was a consistent seeker after historical truth; and as such he does far more justice to the Church than many who have called themselves her sons. 'A fair field and no favour' is all that we ask for; but it is what, until late years, we have asked for in vain from our popular historians. Among the many merits of that new school of history of which Mr. Green was a dis-

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tinguished member, not the least is that it has given to the general reader a truer and nobler conception of that grand institution which, founded at the close of the sixth century, has preserved its continuity unbroken to the beginning of the twentieth, and has been throughout, sometimes more and sometimes less, but always more or less, a blessing and not a curse to the land in which it was planted. This is certainly the impression made by Mr. Green's historical writings far more distinctly, in our opinion, than by most popular historians. He was one of a triumvirate who may be regarded as founders of the new school, the other two being E. A. Freeman and William Stubbs; while among its most distinguished members were, or are, Professor Bryce, the late Bishop Creighton, Professor A. W. Ward, and the Rev. W. Hunt. All these frequently come before us in the *Letters of J. R. Green*, lately edited, with an excellent connecting narrative, by Mr. Leslie Stephen, which form a very useful and interesting appendage to the fourteen volumes of Mr. Green's works in the Eversley Series. Is there not, by the way, a sort of grim irony in the fact of Green thus appearing under the shadow, as it were, of Charles Kingsley? We can hardly fancy anything from which he would have shrunk with greater horror than to be in any way identified with Kingsley as an historical student, though in other capacities he recognized Kingsley's merits. People talk of the 'odium theologicum,' but it is nothing to the 'odium historicum.' The most combative divines have not waged war with greater fierceness than did Freeman and Froude; and Green was an ally of the former, Kingsley of the latter. The new school of history *was* combative, and it raised a good deal of hostility; its members were called priggish and pedantic, and were charged with forming a kind of mutual admiration society, or a league to quash everybody who did not take exactly the same views as themselves. There is always a little tendency in reformers to be uppish; and upon our historical reformers such an imputation was freely cast. They met, in the domain of history, with much the same treatment which the Ruskinites met with in the domain of art; but we are greatly mistaken if the verdict of posterity will not be in favour of

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both; the one set gave us a more correct sense of beauty, the other a more correct idea of the past.

It is time, however, to enter into the details of Green's life and writings, both of which are singularly interesting and suggestive.

John Richard Green was born in 1837 at Oxford, where his father was in trade. He was educated at Magdalen School, under Dr. Millard, as 'Schoolmaster,' until he reached the head of the school, when he went as a private pupil, first to Mr. Ridgway, afterwards principal of the Training College, Culham, and then to Mr. C. D. Yonge, of classical school-book fame. At the early age of sixteen he was elected to an open scholarship at Jesus College, Oxford, but, as he was so young, waited a year before he went into residence. This early success was of doubtful advantage to him. Those who, like the present writer, were undergraduates at the time, will remember that Jesus then stood singularly apart from other colleges. The men were popularly known as 'the goats,' and were supposed to be all Welshmen whom nobody knew anything about. Undergraduate fame in those days was a somewhat conventional article. A man might be a very Shakespeare, but if he neither pulled in his college boat, nor played in his college eleven, nor aspired to honours in the schools, nor took part in the debates at the Union or Vincent's, he would be absolutely unknown. Green did none of these things, and to the outer university world he was as though he were not. We heard of 'Green of Balliol,' but not of 'Green of Jesus;' this solitary genius was among us, and acquiring stores of knowledge which would have put most of us to shame, quite unnoticed; and, according to his own account, neglected even by the authorities of his own college, so that, scholar though he was, he took merely an ordinary pass degree. No wonder that in his after-life he looked back with some soreness, and indeed resentment, to his undergraduate days. Then 'in a fit of enthusiasm,' to use his own rather painful expression, he received Holy Orders. Though he was only twenty-three, he had already passed through several phases of religious opinion. He was brought up on strictly Anglican lines, and he seems to have retained these views

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up to the time of his going to college, with the exception of one very brief interval in 1853, when a Roman priest half persuaded him to enter the Church of Rome. If Green had been at Oxford a few years earlier, or a few years later, he would probably never have drifted away from his early training; for at both periods he would have found the principles in which he had been trained well represented at the university. But in the 'fifties they were in abeyance; or rather, the few who held them were (*exceptis excipiendis*) not men who would be likely to influence ardent youths. The old Tractarian party had ceased to be a power; the later type of High Churchmanship had not yet been developed. There is a sad interest in Green's own description, in a letter to Stanley, of his mental state at this time:

'I came up to Oxford a hard reader and a passionate High Churchman; two years of residence left me idle and irreligious. . . . High Churchism fell with a great crash and left nothing behind—nothing but a vague reverence for goodness, however narrow and bigoted in form, which kept me as far from the shallow of the current Oxford liberalism as I had already drifted from the Mansel orthodoxy. I saw only religious parties unjust to one another as I stood apart, unjust to them all. I had withdrawn myself from Oxford work, and I found no help in Oxford theology. I was utterly miserable when I wandered into your lecture-room.'[1]

Then he expresses his obligations to Stanley, which we can well understand; for many of the best 'Young Oxford' men of the day felt the same. Liberalism was fast becoming the strongest power at Oxford in the early 'sixties; but Green left the university too soon to come quite under its spell. He was rather attracted towards the Evangelicals, and his first curacy was under a good Evangelical, with whose family he maintained a cordial intimacy to the end of his life, and whose wife was his standard of everything that was excellent. Her early death in 1862 caused him the most poignant sorrow he seems ever to have felt. He never forgot her, and nine years later wrote these touching words:

'There has been in my whole life among the thousands I have met one person, and one only, who has influenced *me*, before whom

[1] *Letters*, pp. 17, 18.

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my whole soul bent in reverence and adoring love. And she was the quiet wife of an East-End parson, in a dingy London square, who would have laughed at the thought of influencing anybody.'[1]

The 'East-End parson' was the Rev. Henry Ward, the 'dingy square,' King's Square, Goswell Road, where, at the church of St. Barnabas, Green was assistant-curate from 1860 to 1863. But the Evangelical system never took any real hold of him: even Mrs. Ward's influence was rather in the direction of mysticism, as interpreted by Madame Guyon.

'Ch.' [Christopher], he writes in 1862, 'is becoming an Oxford Simeon . . . God speed him! There may be higher and nobler creeds than his, but there never was a truer, more earnest-minded labourer among the *συνεργοὶ θεοῦ*. Perhaps this narrow type of Evangelicalism has its use, sweeps the narrower, more limited minds into Christ's net, gathers up 'the crumbs that remain, that nothing be lost.'[2]

This exactly represents Green's attitude. He had no more sympathy with Low than with High Churchmen. Whatever may have been 'the higher and nobler creeds,' the old creeds of the Church were certainly losing their hold upon him; but he thoroughly appreciated practical Christian work, and he showed his appreciation of it by working incessantly, as a conscientious parish priest, with the utmost self-denial, and in the awful time of the cholera with the utmost courage, in the dreary region of East London, first with Mr. Ward, then as curate in sole charge of Holy Trinity, Hoxton, then as incumbent of St. Philip's, Stepney. The two latter posts he owed to Bishop Tait, of whom he always speaks in high terms of regard. Like many men of culture, he preferred working among the poor to working among the higher classes; and the short episode in 1863 of a curacy at Notting Hill was not at all to his taste. All the time he was very busy with intellectual pursuits, the fruits of which appeared presently. But the double strain was too much for him; his health completely broke down; and it seems to us that he was not sorry to plead this—which was, in truth, a perfectly valid reason—for resigning office in that Church from whose faith.

[1] *Letters*, p. 285. [2] *Ibid.* p. 95.

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he was, alas! fast drifting. But the life he lived was blameless according to his lights. We may—we *must*—think him in error; but we may respect his motives, and may humbly trust that in another state he has learnt much that was dark to him here. He never strove to draw others away from the faith; some of his dearest friends were earnest Christians, and his historical writings certainly make *for*, and not *against* Christianity. He was, indeed, a man of many friends. First, of course, came *the* two who formed the other members of the triumvirate; and the introduction to them both is characteristic. Freeman had known Green as a little boy at Magdalen School, and renewed the acquaintance after a lecture on St. Dunstan delivered by him in 1862 at Wellington in Somerset. After the lecture the great critic, of whom the young clergyman was terribly afraid, came to congratulate him, and, recognizing the lecturer as his little friend of the Magdalen School, said, 'You remember me, do you? I remember little Johnny Green'—and 'little Johnny Green' he remained with Freeman to the end of the chapter. Stubbs he first met in the train in 1863, when they were both travelling on a visit to Freeman at Somerleaze; and thus the triple cord was formed which was only broken by death. Among other friends were Professor Bryce, Messrs. Stopford Brooke, Brooke Lambert, George Cox (afterwards Sir G. Cox), Boyd Dawkins (his most constant correspondent since the old college days), Alexander Macmillan (his most kind and attached publisher), Humphry Ward (son of his first rector), and Mrs. Humphry Ward (whom he first knew as Mary Arnold), William Hunt, Isaac Taylor, the Misses Von Glehn—the 'Olga' and 'Louise' (Mrs. Creighton) of many of his most delightful letters—and Miss Stopford, who afterwards became his most devoted and helpful wife. Dr. Tait, again, was a personal friend, as well as a most kind patron of Green, whom he learnt to value as a hard-working and successful clergyman in the East End, when he was Bishop of London. When Tait became Primate he made him librarian at Lambeth, a post which, though unpaid, Green greatly valued, as giving him a definite status when he gave up clerical work. The last fifteen years of Green's short life

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were a continual battle against ill-health, which he fought most bravely, utilizing his enforced leisure for literary work which would have been an achievement for a strong man and was a perfect marvel for an invalid. He was obliged for health's sake to spend much of his time abroad; but he improved the opportunity by writing delightful accounts of places, such as San Remo and Capri, which were then little known to Englishmen. He followed Dr. Johnson's advice and 'kept his friendships in good repair,' and when he passed away on March 7, 1883, he left behind him as large and distinguished a circle of affectionate friends to mourn his loss as perhaps any man ever did.

There have, however, been many other devoted parish priests in the East of London, and many others whose personality attracted friends on all sides; but there have not been many who could write as Green could, and therefore it is to Green as a writer that the remainder of this article will be best devoted.

He commenced to write for the public when he had hardly yet emerged from the chrysalis state of undergraduate. His first publication was a series of papers on 'Oxford during the Eighteenth Century,' which appeared in the *Oxford Chronicle* in 1859. For the reproduction of these early efforts we are indebted to the loving care of his widow, who, in conjunction with Miss K. Norgate, edited them, with three other papers on Oxford, in a volume entitled *Oxford Studies*, for the Eversley Series. They have a biographical interest, because, as the editor says, they 'represent an idea which was constantly in Mr. Green's thoughts for many years —a History of Oxford' (Introd.). But they are naturally raw and boyish, and do not add much to our knowledge of Oxford during the somewhat dreary period of the eighteenth century. In all respects, indeed, they present a marked contrast to the admirable paper in the same volume on 'The Early History of Oxford,' written twelve years later; but their republication was in accordance with Green's own wishes; for in sketching, in a letter to Miss Von Glehn in 1873, a plan he had in view of publishing *Essays on Oxford History*, he writes, 'I should . . . close with two long papers

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on "Oxford Society in the Eighteenth Century" and "The Oxford Jacobites," which I wrote when I was an undergraduate.'[1]

We are bound, however, to say that we should have preferred to these juvenile essays a judicious selection from his next-printed effusions, viz. his articles in the *Saturday Review*, which commenced on March 2, 1867, and numbered no less than 161 between that date and January 10, 1874. About a dozen of them, indeed, appear in the volume entitled *Stray Studies*; but what are they among so many? Green's articles were just of that class which made the *Saturday* famous. Middle-aged—it would be cruel to say elderly—people will well remember the sensation, consisting partly of admiration, partly of violent antagonism, which was caused by the *Saturday* in its early years—that is, speaking roughly, in the 'sixties. That sensation was mainly aroused, not by its political articles, but by its 'Middles' and its 'Reviews of Books;' and it is to these two latter departments that all Green's articles belong. The paper was labelled—was it not by John Bright?—as the *Saturday Reviler*, and this title Green in his *Letters* laughingly adopts. To be praised in the *Saturday* was an honour indeed; to be cut up in it was about as severe a castigation as a poor author could undergo. To be reputed to be 'a writer in the *Saturday*' was to be exalted to as high a pre-eminence as that to which Tom Towers attained in the pages of Anthony Trollope; and it was thought, whether rightly or wrongly we know not, that some claimed that honour who had no title to it, except on the principle of the man who amazed his friends by saying, 'I often write for the *Saturday*,' but dispelled the amazement by adding, 'and when I enclose sixpence, they always send it.' Green, however, was a constant writer in a different sense; and in the list of his contributions we recognize many old friends. He himself regarded his 'Middle' entitled 'Children by the Sea' (reprinted in the *Stray Studies*) as the best piece of literary work he ever turned out; and he does not over-rate its excellence. It is a delightful sketch, which no one but a real lover of children, as Green always was,

[1] *Letters*, p. 356.

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could have written; it is as full of humanity as of ability, and might take a worthy place among the *Essays of Elia* themselves, of which, by the way, Green was an ardent admirer. Freeman, indeed, thought that his friend 'frittered himself away' in his light 'Middles,' but here we think Green took a correct view of his own powers.

We must pass on, however, to more serious matters. From the very first Green's ambition was to be an historian. His first idea was to write a 'History of the Church of England,' or 'The Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,' (and we are not at all sure whether he would not have executed the latter task better than Dean Hook did); then to write a 'History of England under Foreign Kings,' a project which he never entirely abandoned; but at length his choice was guided by the 'res angusta domi,' and he was induced by a handsome offer of Mr. Macmillan to write the book with which his name is chiefly connected. In 1874 *A Short History of the English People* appeared; it took five years in writing, having been commenced in 1869, and many parts are said to have been re-written over and over again. One can well understand the almost unprecedented success the book met with. It was written in a most attractive and scholarly style, and from quite a new point of view. Instead of being, like other works of the kind, a history of the sovereigns of England, who served as pegs on which to hang the accounts of their subjects, it was directly a history of the people themselves, and of the people regarded quite as much from the social as from the political point of view. Green also brought with great effect his archæological and geographical knowledge, especially of towns, to bear upon his subject. In short, it was history written on a new method and in a most attractive form. Of course, the very nature of his plan, which made the people themselves, not their sovereigns, the central point of interest, exposed the writer to the charge of revolutionary tendencies; but there is nothing whatever in the book itself to lead the reader to prefer a democracy to a monarchy. A Liberal, no doubt, Green *was*; and those who regard 'Churchman' and 'Conservative' as convertible terms might, from a Church standpoint, consider the book dangerous;

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but we have surely now outgrown that very narrow and misleading idea of the Church. Of her function as a factor in England's history, Green, to our mind, shows a far more satisfactory and intelligible appreciation than any secular historian had previously shown. But this point will be better treated in connexion with the longer history which followed. It was well for Green's *popularity* that his *Short History* came first, for people read and admired it who would have found life too short to attempt the graver task of reading the more elaborate works which followed. But it was not well for his reputation among critics. He took a long time, and bestowed immense pains over his *Short History*; but it was written under adverse circumstances in many ways. He was suffering from overwork when he began to write it; he had frequently to go abroad for health's sake, and to write far away from libraries and amid the uncongenial surroundings of hotel life; he had not a good verbal memory; he had to write, side by side with the history, articles for the *Saturday Review* in order to earn a little ready money; and to write an ephemeral article is one thing, to write permanent history another. Hence it is not surprising that inaccuracies crept into the work, which were greedily seized upon by critics; for it was an open secret that Green was a 'Saturday Reviewer'; and it was delightful to find the severe censor of others (though Green was not often really severe) himself at fault. The aspiration, 'Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!' was fulfilled, and one critic wrote an epigram after the manner of Martial:

'*On Mr. Green's Short History.*

'Critics, be warned; on Green's imprudence look;
Slash what you please, but never write a book.'

Two articles appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* which were very damaging. All the inaccuracies were collected together and remorselessly exposed. The editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, to whom the criticism was first sent, very kindly and properly replied that it ought rather to be sent privately to Mr. Green as a useful list of corrections for another edition, than be published in a periodical. Other reviewers, however, found

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out mistakes; the inevitable reaction set in, and Green was dubbed 'inaccurate'—a fatal defect in an historian. A well-known Oxford man, in an imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal, wrote, in reference to the *Short History* and the *Saturday Review*:

> Nor, scarcely sheltered by a paper screen,
> Should blustering Freeman butter blundering Green,

upon which a still better known Oxford man asked, 'Did it never occur to —— that a man might be both blustering *and* blundering?' the significance of which query can only be appreciated by those who knew all the parties concerned.

However, there is no doubt that there *were* inaccuracies in the *Short History*. To take a few which concern the history of the Church, and which the present writer finds he had marked in the edition of 1875, before he had read any reviews of the book.

It is surely inaccurate to say that Gregory I. 'at once sent a Roman abbot to England' (p. 17): Augustine was not an abbot when Gregory first sent him; it is inaccurate to quote the letter attributed to Queen Elizabeth beginning 'Proud Prelate!' and ending 'by God I will unfrock you,' as if it were undoubtedly genuine (p. 370); it is inaccurate to write of George Herbert as if he were a clergyman in Elizabeth's reign (p. 399), whereas he was not ordained until two reigns later; it is inaccurate to describe Dr. Gauden simply as 'a Presbyterian minister' (p. 556), for though he conformed to Presbyterianism he was episcopally ordained and a beneficed clergyman in the reign of Charles I., and a bishop in that of Charles II.—and so on and so on. Green himself frankly owned to Freeman: 'There are slips, careless and discreditable slips, and I am sorry for them. But,' he adds, with perfect truth, we believe, 'they are not blunders which affect the book itself; they do not show a real misreading of this period or that period; they are not the sort of errors which betray an unhistoric mode of looking at the course of things as a whole' (*Letters*, p. 420). And a less partial judge, Bishop Stubbs, writes to the same effect: 'Like other people, he made mistakes sometimes, but scarcely ever does the cor-

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rection of his mistakes affect either the essence of the picture or the force of the argument' (*Letters*, p. 385). After the lapse of so many years it will not, it is hoped, be any breach of confidence to add that the bishop expressed the same view, but far more strongly, to the present writer verbally.

Green, however, was far from satisfied with the *Short History*; he felt he could do better work than that, and at once set about doing it. He reversed the ordinary process. Instead of condensing what had been first written at large, as most authors do, he amplified what had been first written in brief, and produced *A History of the English People* in four volumes, the volumes coming out in successive years beginning with 1877. That the long history is better than the short few competent critics will deny; and to none should it be more valuable than to the English Churchman, who will rise from its perusal with a clearer and higher idea of the part which the Church played in English history, especially in the earlier stages. Green brings out more distinctly than any of his predecessors had done how Christianity and civilization had ever gone hand in hand; he shows in detail how the Church furnished a model for the union of the detached and often hostile tribes in England into one compact nation; he does full justice to many great Churchmen to whom scant justice had been done before. Instead, for instance, of dwelling on the silly and ill-authenticated stories about St. Dunstan, he shows at length the inestimable services which that great ecclesiastical statesman rendered to his country. He fully acknowledges, what most secular historians had entirely ignored, the beneficial influence which Archbishop Theobald, the predecessor of Becket, exercised in the great days of Henry II. He gives his readers a much-needed caution against taking as gospel the random utterances against Churchmen of such writers as Walter de Map, which really are about as trustworthy as the utterances of a society paper in the present day.

Green was an enthusiast about history, and was always meditating plans to help the study of it. It is to him that we owe the first suggestion of an *English Historical Review*, to him that the Oxford Historical Society practically owes its origin, with him that the system of historical 'primers,'

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'epochs,' and short 'series,' now so popular, first commenced. And his own contributions to English history went on to the very end of his life. Indeed, his last two contributions, and, in our view his best, were made when death had manifestly set its seal upon him. *The Making of England* (1882) and *The Conquest of England* (1883), which were intended to be practically one work, are wonderful *tours de force*. The story of their composition is most touchingly told in the Preface to the latter by Mrs. Green in a passage which is too long to quote in full, and which it would be almost sacrilege to abbreviate (see pp. vi and vii). She herself undertook the task of filling up the outlines of the unfinished work, and admirably she fulfilled it. Still, the two earlier volumes, entitled *The Making of England*, are naturally, both from the greater originality of the subject and the less impaired powers of the author, the most interesting. Never before had it been shown so clearly and vividly how our ancestors who settled in England had to fight their way, inch by inch, for every piece of ground they occupied, alike against the determined and often successful opposition of the natives, and against physical obstacles which were all but insurmountable. As in the previous histories, but far more frequently and thoroughly, he brings to bear upon the subject his archæological researches, especially as regarded the sites and ruins of villas and towns, thus working a mine of historical information which had never been so adequately worked before. In these last volumes he goes over, but much more carefully, the same ground over which he had passed twice before, first in his *Short*, and then in his longer *History of the English People*; so that we have the curious spectacle of a man writing three times, and each time at greater length and fulness, on the same subject. But he had no hesitation about altering his plans; in the *Short History*, for instance, one of the chief lines of division is drawn, not, as is usually done, at the Norman, but at the Danish Conquest, the section 'England under Foreign Kings,' beginning with Cnut, not with William. When he wrote the longer *History*, he had come to think that Cnut was so completely Anglicized that he was *not* a foreign king; so he goes back to the old-fashioned plan of making the

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Norman Conquest the real turning-point, and herein we venture to think he was right. But in his last volumes, by making the conquest of England culminate in the victories of the Danes, he seems to return to the theory of the *Short History*.

But he never changes his views as to the unique position of England's Church in England's history, and we cannot do better than conclude this very imperfect sketch of his historical work by quoting a noble passage which gives what may be literally regarded as his dying testimony on the subject. He is writing of 'The England of Ecgberht,' and he says:

'Side by side with this industrial change in the temper and aspect of the country was going on a far more profound change in its moral life. We have already noted the more striking and picturesque sides of the revolution which had been wrought in the displacement of the old faith and the adoption of the new, the planting of a Church on the soil with its ecclesiastical organization, its bishops, its priests, its court, its councils, its language, its law, above all the new impulse given to political consolidation by the building up of Britain into a single religious communion. But these results of the new faith were small and unimportant beside the revolution which was wrought by it in individual life.

'From the cradle to the grave it [the Church] had forced on the Englishman a new law of conduct, new habits, new conceptions of life and society. It entered above all into that sphere within which the individual will of the freeman had been till now supreme, the sphere of home; it curtailed his powers over child and wife and slave; it forbade infanticide, the putting away of wives, or cruelty to the serf. It challenged almost every social conception; it denied to the king his heritage of the blood of the gods; it proclaimed slavery an evil, war an evil, manual labour a virtue. It met the feud face to face by denouncing revenge. It held up gluttony and drunkenness, the very essence of the old English "feast," as sins,'[1]

with much more to the same effect.

It is all most true, and most admirably expressed. But were not all these beneficial changes the fruits of that very dogmatic Christianity with its creeds which had, alas! ceased to retain their hold upon the eloquent writer? And 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'

[1] See *Conquest of England*, i. 8 *sq.*

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ART. III.—THE CATHOLIC REACTION IN FRANCE.

1. *Le Mouvement Néo-Chrétien dans la Littérature Contemporaine.* L'Abbé KLEIN. (Paris, 1892.)
2. *L'Immaculée Conception et la Renaissance Catholique.* M. DUBOSC DES PESQUIDOUX. (Paris, 1899.)
3. *L'Inquiétude Religieuse.* R. P. BRÉMOND. (Paris, 1901.)
4. *Pages Catholiques.* J. K. HUYSMANS. (Paris, 1898.)
5. *La Bonne Souffrance.* F. COPPÉE. (Paris, 1898.)
6. *Sainte Lydwine de Schiedam.* J. K. HUYSMANS. (Paris, 1901.)

IN a book published now nearly ten years ago M. l'Abbé Klein gave a brief but comprehensive sketch of the Neo-Christian movement in French literature. He testified to the change which had come over the literary world of France. 'Religion, he wrote, 'has, then, ceased to be a butt for the laughter of writers of talent, and is now for them, as for the majority of educated young people, the object rather of a respectful and kindly curiosity.'[1]

And the reaction is not confined to literature. It is in the air. R. P. Brémond, in *L'Inquiétude Religieuse*, points out that Lacordaire was a bold man when he ventured to break in upon the traditions left by the Deists, and to pronounce for the first time for many years the name of Jesus in the Cathedral of Notre Dame; but that now Christ is everywhere,

'in the Church and at the Sorbonne, in the theatres and in the picture galleries. We may not believe in His divinity; it is no longer possible to ignore His Person or to be indifferent to the problems which His name suggests; and in a little gallery of the Luxemburg was hanging lately a picture before which honest souls meditated, and asked their own hearts if this Christ, in the dress of a workman, had not the solution of that problem which the nineteenth century bequeaths tremblingly to its successor.'[2]

[1] L'Abbé Klein, *Le Mouvement Néo-Chrétien dans la Littérature Contemporaine*, 1892, p. 26.

[2] R. P. Brémond, *L'Inquiétude Religieuse*, 1901, p. 325.

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In literature such a work as M. Saint-Georges de Bouhelier's *Tragédie du Nouveau Christ*, in painting such a picture as M. Jean Béraud's *Le Chemin de la Croix*, alike testify to this spirit in the air.

M. Klein's view of the subject was a wide one. It included not only those who accept the Christian faith, but those also who only admire Christianity *ab extra*. 'After the religion which believes, there is still the religion which respects, which regrets, which loves, which adores with melancholy the dead divinities as an ideal of beauty, of grandeur, and of poetry, as the tenderly venerated religion of the past.' The moral teaching and the spirit of Christianity receives an almost tender homage in unexpected places. One leader among those who are indifferent to its claims could yet declare that freethinkers disgusted him with freethought. M. Lemaître's review of Ferdinand Fabre's novels and of the priesthood in *Les Contemporains* is an example of all that is respectful and even sympathetic. But dogma is the stumbling block.

'Briefly,' says M. Klein, 'if one asks these Neo-Christians to define accurately what it is that they mean by faith and what it is that they love in religion, the greater part of them reply that dogma does not altogether please them, but that the ethics of Christianity delight them, and surpass all other systems in their admiration.'[1]

But the movement would be but a small matter if its results were all as indefinite as this, and if the personal love of Christ had not grown with it. And there is indeed an inner circle, *οἱ ἐκλεκτοί*, select souls, who have turned towards the faith with a whole-hearted zeal and a devotion without parallel perhaps since the days of Port-Royal or of our own John Wesley. This esoteric movement, of which we here alone purpose to speak, stands aside from all political aims. When we come within its circle we come into a highly rarified atmosphere. Its history, unlike the history of the wider Catholic reaction, which may be read in M. Dubosc des Pesquidoux' *L'Immaculée Conception et la Renaissance Catholique*, or in *Un Siècle : Mouvement du Monde de 1800 à 1900*, is a history

[1] M. L'Abbé Klein, *Le Mouvement Néo-Chrétien*, p. 28.

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of the adventures of men's souls and of no polemical successes in the world of politics or of philosophy. Party spirit, party passion, are left outside the charmed circle of this movement. Individual adherents may, indeed, be well known in public as members of one or another of those political or social cliques in which Parisians absorb themselves, but this does not detract from the truth of the statement as a whole. The movement takes its stand upon that essence of true mysticism which finds expression in the words of M. Huysmans: 'The only need of man is to place himself in direct communication with God.'

In the pages which follow we do not propose to discuss the philosophy of this very remarkable movement, but simply to make it tell its own story by its literature, to sketch out how it works and what effect it has on the minds of the men who have become filled with its spirit.

Not the least remarkable point in that story is the fact that, as far as can be seen, it owes its existence in the hearts of individual men to no outer human agency. France has had its great preachers in the last ten years, its teachers of strongly attractive personality. One of the pupils of the Père Du Lac, whose *Jésuites* has been in most hands, testified: 'Il nous fanatisait. Il nous aurait demandé le sacrifice de notre vie, que nous n'aurions pas hésité.'[1] At Notre Dame Mgr. d'Hulst and Père Monsabré have both been a power, and a number of other names will occur to the minds of those who are *en rapport* with the life of modern Paris. In the poorer quarters the Society of *Missionaires* are doing a great work.

'I do not like,' writes M. Doumic in his *Ecrivains d'Aujourd'hui*, 'to conclude these notes on the preaching of the day without saying some words about one of the most interesting and, I think, one of the most efficacious enterprises that have been attempted of late years. To allow that, from the point of view of religious, and perhaps of moral, ideas the people of Paris in certain districts are almost like the savages of Annam and of Uganda would be to start with a remark too well founded. Some priests have conceived the idea of directing veritable missions in Paris and its outskirts. They were

[1] M. René Doumic, *Ecrivains d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 300.

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not always without danger—witness the scenes which took place at St. Merry or St. Denis, where the missionaries ran a risk of being more or less scalped . . .

'The poor quarters, Javel, Plaisance, Grenelle, Montrouge, Ménilmontant, are the scene of the missions. This is how things are done. During the preceding day placards are posted up and letters sent to the homes. The concourse is always very great, as is shown by statistics, and as I have myself been able to prove. A mission lasts three weeks, and is divided into three divisions: for young girls, for women, and for men. It is made up of instruction and of religious exercises. At the close sacred articles, little images or crucifixes, are distributed. I have not found in my experience that they are turned into ridicule. When, on going to the house of a workman, we see there a crucifix hanging on the wall, we have very much reason to believe that we are entering the abode of respectable people.'[1]

And before leaving M. Doumic's attractive little papers on the preachers and their methods of work we must glance for one moment at his words on one method which is at least unusual, and which even in Paris, where the devout world does not much criticize the form in which its religion is presented to it, has been much discussed. This consists of 'Conférences Contradictoires,' or 'Sermons accompagnés d'Objections.' 'The preacher,' says M. Doumic, 'treats from the pulpit the subject which he has chosen. Then the opponent stands up in the churchwarden's pew. His objection made, the preacher replies to it. This system has been very much criticized. I allow there is something unusual in hearing in a church two priests calling each other *Monsieur le Conférencier* and *Monsieur le Contradicteur*.'[2]

This and a hundred other methods mean zeal and work. There have been and there are preachers above the average, hard-working mission priests, in the French Church; and among the poor individual influence and preaching have not been without effect. In spite of a vast mass of irreligion there is yet a strain of piety, which is a very remarkable growth in such surroundings. M. Huysmans, speaking by his hero Durtal, has revealed to us the vivid and unquestioning

[1] M. René Doumic, *Ecrivains d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 304.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 306.

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faith of those poor who morning and evening frequent the churches in their neighbourhood.

'He thought over the lot of these women scattered around him, here and there, on the chairs. Ah! the poor little black shawls, the miserable frilled caps, the sad capes, and the mournful beads of the chaplets which they were telling in the shadow! . . . The task of the day was finished; the weary of life came to cry for grace. Everywhere misfortune knelt; for the rich, the well-to-do, the happy, do not pray much. Everywhere in the church were women, the widowed or the old, those who had no one to care for them, wives cast off or wives tortured in their households, praying that existence might be happier for them, that the disorders of their husbands might be stayed, the vices of their children amended, the health of those they loved restored. . . . Very few men came to this hidden rendezvous of pain; still fewer young men, for they have not suffered enough; only some old men, some infirm ones, who crept in and leant over the backs of the chairs, and one little humpback, whom Durtal saw come in every night; a disinherited child who could only be loved by Her who does not even see the body. . . . And in the morning, their first Mass, the Mass of the workwomen and the servants was not less touching. There were there neither bigots nor the inquisitive, but poor women who came to find in the Communion strength to live their lives of burdensome work, of servile need. They knew that, in quitting the church, they were the living abode of a God; that He who was on this earth invariably poor, only delighted in poverty-stricken souls; they knew themselves to be His elect, never doubting that in confiding to them, under the form of bread, the memorial of His sufferings, He asked in exchange that they should remain sad and poor. And what could the cares of a day spent in the happy shame of low employment then do to them?'[1]

This, and many another passage, testifies to the real faith which shines in unexpected places, and which reveals most commonly the successful work of one of the missioners to whom we have referred. But when we turn to those converts among educated men—and it is of them that we here alone propose to speak—men who have left a record of their conversion, and of whom therefore we can speak with more certainty than of the poor, sermons and outside agencies seem to have been no factor in the initial work of their con-

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 74.

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version. That factor seems rather to have been, in the words of one of the latest of these converts, the very breath of the Holy Spirit speaking in the soul without human agent. 'Un soufflé a passé,' writes M. Coppée in *La Bonne Souffrance*; '*spiritus flat ubi vult.*' No man in this movement could say 'I am of Paul and I of Apollos'; no man is labelled by the name of a popular teacher or leader of thought. There is even an absence of all strong controlling outward power. Public opinion cared very little for a man's creed or for his morals; the world was interested in religion, but at a little distance. In the cases of which we speak there was none of the ordered discipline of family life, the idea so inherent in English minds that it is necessary to go to church 'because of the children,' to make a change at least expedient. But here and there the power manifested itself in unexpected places: in the repenting cry of a Verlaine in his *Sagesse*, in human documents such as *La Bonne Souffrance* and *Pages Catholiques*. 'This conversion, to call it by its real name,' writes M. Coppée in the brief autobiography which prefaces the work to which we have alluded,

'was rapid, no doubt, but not altogether sudden or accompanied by extraordinary circumstances. Nevertheless, I must attribute it to Divine grace; for when I compare my moral state with that in which I was some months since, I remain astonished at the change, and it seems to me miraculous.'[1]

The whole chapter, too, in *Pages Catholiques* headed 'La Psychologie d'une Conversion,' where, with the Abbé Mugnier's preface before us, we may believe that M. Huysmans speaks by his hero Durtal, is eminently illustrative of this feature of the movement.

'How had he again become Catholic? How had the thing happened?

'And Durtal replied to himself: "I do not know; all that I do know is that, after having been for years an unbeliever, suddenly I believe . . . the only thing that seems certain to me is that there has been in my case Divine preventing grace.

'"But," he went on, "the psychology of conversion would be then null?" and he replied to himself:

[1] M. Coppée, *La Bonne Souffrance*, p. 8, preface.

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'"It has all the appearance of it; for I seek in vain to retrace the halting-places by which I have passed. No doubt I can point out on the route taken, here and there, some restraining power: the love of art, heredity, weariness of life; I can even recall to myself the forgotten sensations of childhood, the hidden avenues for ideas suggested by my loiterings in the churches; but what I cannot do is to catch up the threads, to group them into bundles; what I cannot comprehend is the sudden and silent burst of light within me. When I seek to explain to myself why, yesterday an unbeliever, I have become, without knowing how, in one night believing, well, I can discover nothing; for the celestial action has disappeared without leaving any traces."'

But while believing that, as far as we can see, no human agency kindles the spark of repentance in these souls, yet we must allow that the educated Frenchman has many powerful factors around him and within to assist in the return to a Christian life. With but few exceptions, education in the upper classes is intrusted to the priests, to men who put Christian faith and practice before human learning. It is indeed laid to their charge that they use their power for political purposes, and in an institution in the anomalous position of the Church in France they must do so to a great extent if the Church is to hold its own at all. But we do not here enter into that question; we confine ourselves entirely to the religious aspect of the case. Boys come into the hands of the priests in the impressionable days of early childhood, and 'of this early Christian education,' says M. Doumic, 'they keep the ineffaceable mark.'[1] If it shows itself in nothing else it is at least seen in the 'civil-suited' feel of much of the literature of to-day; 'perhaps it is one of the reasons,' to again quote M. Doumic, 'why contemporary literature shows itself so preoccupied with the things of religion.'[2] There is in these men henceforth 'un retour nostalgique vers ce Christianisme qui a d'abord été mêlé intimement à toutes les affaires de votre vie'; in the man brought up at the feet of the priests there remains to the last 'un peu de l'enfant de chœur habitué à jouer avec les vases de l'autel.'[3] M. Huysmans in *Pages Catholiques* has

[1] M. René Doumic, *Ecrivains d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 135.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 136.

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a passage of exquisite beauty, as it seems to us, on the foundation or at least the preparation for the supreme work of grace which was made in his childish visits to dim cloisters and shady gardens over which the halo of the religious life was shed.

'Remembrances of infancy,' he says, 'came back to him of cousins, of aunts, of women sweet and grave, white as holy bread, who frightened him by speaking in low voices, who made him uneasy when they looked at him and asked if he were a good child.

'He felt a sort of fear and found refuge in the skirts of his mother, trembling when on leaving he had to give his forehead to their faded lips and submit to the breath of a cold kiss.

'From afar, when he now dreamed of them, these visits, which had so much wearied him in his childhood, seemed exquisite to him. He put into them all the poetry of the cloister, surrounded those empty parlours with a dim odour of beeswax and wainscoting; and he saw also once again the gardens which he had traversed in these convents, the gardens perfumed with the bitter scent of box edging, planted with hedges, covered with trellises on which the grapes were always green and never ripened, with seats placed here and there, whose worn-out stones held the water from long past showers; and a thousand details came back to him of avenues of peaceful limes, of paths along which he ran among the black *guipure* which the sun made with the falling shadows of the branches. He kept of these gardens, which seemed to him to become more spacious as he grew older, a remembrance, a little confused, in which hovered the dim image of an old enclosed park and of the garden of a presbytery situated in his northern home, which remained, even when the sun warmed it, a little damp.'[1]

Or, to rise higher, let us take the description, not an exaggerated one as some of us, who have followed M. Huysmans' steps to Chartres, can testify, of the little server at the Low Mass in the crypt of that cathedral.

'A choir boy appeared preceding an old priest, and for the first time Durtal saw a Mass served with reality and understood that incredible beauty which can be discovered in a thoughtful celebration of the Sacrifice.

'This kneeling child, the soul intent, the hands clasped, spoke slow and aloud, and pronounced with such reverence and attention the

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 42.

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responses to the psalms, that the meaning of this admirable liturgy which has ceased to surprise us because we have known it for so long and have heard it muttered and hurried over in a whisper, revealed itself suddenly to Durtal.'[1]

It all tells. An impact is made. He who has thus as a boy been brought near to holy things is never quite as other men. Indeed, we do not believe, in spite of testimony to the contrary, that the ordinary Frenchman, after the first few years of escape from clerical discipline and restraint are over, is naturally impious even if he does not practise religion. Perhaps more men feel as M. Coppée describes himself as feeling than are known to the world or even to themselves.

'When by chance,' he says, 'I entered into a church, respect came to me on the threshold and went with me to the altar. The ceremonies of religion always impressed me by their venerable character of antiquity, their harmonious pomp, their solemn and penetrating poetry. I never have dipped my hand in the cold water of the *bénitiers* without feeling a singular thrill which was perhaps that of remorse.

'Yes, the more I think of it, the more I believe that a little Christian faith slumbered always at the bottom of my heart.[2] . . . From weakness, from cowardice, I did not reform my conduct, but I believe, I repeat it, that there was in me a Christian at the bottom, for I often made in thought an act of contrition ; and that there was a Catholic in me at the bottom, for all death unaccompanied by contrition and by pardon seemed terrible to me.'[3]

Indeed, it must seem to us as if, in the natural course of events, the man who has never, like the young Ion, known what it was to be happy in his childhood in sacred places ; who has never (to go deeper than these outward things) attained to the personal knowledge of Christ in his impressionable days—the knowledge of the heart; that knowledge of which Bishop Welldon in his Preface to his Harrow Sermons spoke as his aim in preaching to boys, knowledge which, as the modern mystic school in France can testify, is attainable even by childish minds, it does seem that it is too little likely he can ever attain to it in this present existence. The

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 288.
[2] M. Coppée, *La Bonne Souffrance*, p. 8. [3] *Ibid.* p. 10.

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mind is too little likely to receive fresh impressions with any vividity when youth is past; the brain no longer plastic; life full of business or of cares. The impressions may be obliterated for a time; but we may almost say they must have been planted in childish days if they are ever to awake again in after life.

And in the two conversions of which we have been speaking we are brought face to face with a return, not only to the faith of little children, but to the faith learnt as little children. To these men the anguish of the search for truth did not mean controversy in any form; it was only the old and simple struggle, once known by the Lake of Galilee, to accept, or to reject the Christ. No demonstration seems to have been asked, or looked for, or given by their spiritual guides. There was no conflict with doubt in any of its complex modern forms. They asked for no weapons against materialistic or idealistic unbelief. English Positivists, German Rationalists, might never have existed for these men, although they were educated and abreast with all modern thoughts. They point to no elaborate system of metaphysics as their salvation; they take no text-book of philosophy to help a struggling faith. When they come out of indifference they seem to come straight into Christian light.

'I have not,' says M. Coppée, 'tried to pierce the obscurities of dogma, and I have above all re-read the Gospel while asking God with fervour to give me the submission of the poor in spirit. I have become like those little children that our Saviour wished to be suffered to come to Him, and of whom He said that the kingdom of heaven was for those who resemble them. I have listened to the Divine word with as much simplicity as the fishermen of the Lake of Tiberias, to whom Jesus spoke on the waves, seated on the prow of the boat. An imperious desire drew me towards God. I did not resist. I let myself be guided. In a word, I obeyed. . . .'[1]

Such men seem to proclaim to all philosophers *Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.*

[1] M. Coppée, *La Bonne Souffrance*, p. 15, preface.

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And, to continue, we have need to remember that in France the conflict lies simply between the Church and unbelief: no sects compete with either in the minds of educated men. Nor is the Church at a disadvantage by reason of 'unhappy divisions.' Men are not bewildered by 'views' and 'opinions' within the Church; by wild diversities of ritual. When faith awakes there is but one path for the French Catholic to walk in. There are no doubt differences of opinion on such matters as indulgences, Gallican or Ultramontane claims, and the like; but the clergy keep these very much to themselves, and 'parties' in the Anglican sense of the word there are none. The man in whom the religious sense awakes sees around him a Church speaking at least outwardly with one united voice. This unity has an appealing power at the outset, a powerful hold in later days. He is not bewildered by the claims of various teachers. He has not to choose the banner under which he will fight. He has not to 'select his creed' before he can make progress in the way of salvation. And his early education has taught him what to do. It makes very little difference to him to what priest he turns.

'To-morrow,' writes Eugénie de Guérin, and she represents the feeling of every instructed Christian in France, 'I am going to make a pilgrimage which costs me a good deal, not from the number of its steps, but from something which requires courage of soul, and power of faith, to overcome. Do not think me a martyr: it is only to confess to a priest in whom I have not confidence, but it is the only opportunity. In this act of religion it is always necessary to separate the man from the priest, and sometimes to annihilate him.'[1]

It matters very little, then, to what priest he turns, but, Christianly brought up, he turns to a priest in this crisis of soul. And while acknowledging that no human hand was apparently held out to help in the initial work of conversion, yet in the face of any contradictory statement we wish to give our testimony to the strength and the holiness of the French priesthood. 'I never knew a bad priest,' wrote one who had lived much in France, and had written much of France. In

[1] Eugénie de Guérin, *Journal.*

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the chance confessor found for M. Coppée in his illness, he finds a man who charms by his exquisite gentleness and his rare distinction of mind, and who soon becomes his dear counsellor, 'l'intime visiteur de mon âme et mon père en Jésus-Christ.' The Abbé Gévresin in *Pages Catholiques* is as holy and beautiful a picture as any in literature or in life. If we turn to Ferdinand Fabre's gallery of priestly portraits we see a highly spiritualized class; and these portraits are all the more valuable because he does not spare the failings of the class which he thus illustrates. To him we owe these words, which might well become a proverb: 'O sainte Eglise Catholique! il faut bien que quelque chose de divin réside en toi puisque tes prêtres n'ont pu réussir à te perdre!' He does not, then, spare their failings: but those failings are the failings of the unworldly and the devout whose very ambitions are not the ambitions of other men. Those of us who have seen anything of the byways of France, who have been received into presbyteries or into religious houses, can add a testimony to literature that there are saints in them to-day. Not long ago two ladies, travelling in the wild Tarn district, through some defect in their travelling plans had to seek admission into the house of a priest among those hills. The beauty and simplicity of that household were apostolic. The old curé, although only of peasant extraction, was refined by saintliness, and himself as ascetic as a page of the *Acta Sanctorum*, he yet watched over the comfort of his guests and helped his housekeeper in her household arrangements, and even her humble household work, with an almost feminine grace and a dignity which were not those of his peasant birth. Or to take a more unexpected testimony than that of travellers or of books: 'If the priest,' says the Abbé Klein, 'is played on the stage—where no doubt it would be better if he were not represented—he at least appears there in an amiable light.' And of the priests in a certain class of literature we may say, in the words of M. Lemaître, that these 'fantoches antithétiques' have nothing of the priest but the dress.

Indeed, the training for the priesthood is so long and so rigorous that only those who have an undoubted vocation

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win through it; and long before irrevocable vows are taken the man knows all that lies before him as a priest. His life is, as M. Lemaître tells us,

'so special, so distinct from that of other men. From childhood he is laid hold of, he is isolated from the great human crowd, his soul and his body are drilled to religious practices. At the *petit séminaire* these exercises are multiplied; every day there is Mass, rosary, meditation, spiritual reading; every Sunday catechism and sermon, frequent confession, and communion; at fifteen or sixteen the cassock. At the *grand séminaire* the moral isolation is complete: the religious practices, always more numerous and more lengthy, mould the soul slowly and invincibly. . . . During his vacations the young Levite is isolated in the world, living as much as possible with his vicar, avoiding frivolous companions, already respected by those who approach him, and even by his mother.'[1]

Such training must try a man long before the irrevocable vow, with the immolation of his whole soul which it means, is taken. It may be thought but a trifle in such a wonderful whole; but even the cassock, put on by the candidate years before the priesthood is reached, must be no small discipline. 'Je me trouve, en effet, fort empêché dans ce vêtement peu commode,' writes M. Fabre in *Ma Vocation*. 'Je vais avec balancements, les cahots d'un pierrot sur la neige en janvier —pauvre pierrot ridicule!'

The training for the priesthood then is long, it is severe. But in France the bishops have no cause to deplore that the number of men with a vocation for the priesthood is small or that it is diminishing. What is it that attracts them? Hardness. The heroic is awakened in the mind by the life of discipline; by its abnegation of all worldly things; by the fact that it requires 'la plus entière immolation de soi que l'on puisse imaginer';[2] that it is not a life half given to the world and to the cares of a family and half to God.

All these things give indubitable strength and forcefulness to the work of a priest when he comes in contact with souls. The patient self-discipline of years has a power which perhaps some men whose lives are indeed spent in unremitting work for others, but who have left self-discipline somewhat out of

[1] M. Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, p. 305.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 303.

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court, might well envy. It might almost seem as if strenuous prayer and a disciplined inner life were of more avail to bring down blessings on the souls of those whom they desire to reach than methods easier and more visible—parish teas, social evenings, clubs, concerts. Did not—we may ask it now that he is gone from among us—did not much of the almost magic influence which Bishop Westcott exercised arise less from what he said (though his words indeed were weighty) than from the fact, as was said by a recent writer in the *Spectator*, 'that the frail, pensive figure of the mystic and student was . . . almost like a being from another sphere,' that there was a great force of personal holiness shining through face and form?

The convert, then, to this neo-mysticism turns to a priest in his need, and it will go hard if he does not find one well qualified to help him. For not only has the priest's whole youth been spent in qualifying for this work; he is also the inheritor of a vast mass of casuistic learning: we use this word in its honest and good sense, and with none of the *arrière-pensée* which has crept into its meaning in this country, and as we do so we remember that even Fuller could complain that the Reformers thought too little of Case-divinity, and that the whole body of English divines, with the exceptions of Bishop Taylor and Bishop Sanderson, have done little to remedy the want, have given but little attention to a subject which might seem to be of some importance to men whose work was psycho-therapeutical.

But when we take up the documents of conversion, of which we are now thinking, how simple, for all this array of casuistic learning, how simple and how direct and to the purpose is their dealing with souls. It is indeed the simplicity of a great scholar when he preaches to a village congregation, simplicity which is all the more simple because he who speaks has gone deeply and widely into his subject, and has a mass of learning arrayed behind the simple words: 'When the Abbé,' writes M. Coppée, 'talked of bringing me the Eucharist, I hesitated, full of trouble, not feeling myself worthy of the Sacrament. The danger of death was not immediate. The man of God did not insist.

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'"Only pray," he said to me, "and read the Gospels."'[1]

How simple it all is; how simple, too, is the course adopted by the priest in *Pages Catholiques*. He hurries nothing; his is a masterly inactivity at first. He knows, in the colloquial phrase, that you cannot arrive until you are there. But hidden forces are at work. We feel in both cases that we are in the midst of a supernatural world. Prayer can do more than human words.

'Be so much my friend,' says the Abbé Gévresin, 'as to believe that the old priest whom you leave here will not be inactive, and that he and all the convents which he directs will pray their best for you . . . above all pray. . . . I have on my part besought the Lord much to enlighten me, and I declare to you that this solution [he is speaking of the retreat at La Trappe] is the only one that He has given me. Pray humbly in your turn and you will be guided.'[2]

It is all so simple but so powerful. The convert seems to be surrounded by forces, invisible, impalpable, but the veil lifts now and then and reveals, as here, some fragment of that vast supernatural machinery in which he is, as it were, enveloped and carried onward without his volition. He doubts, he hesitates at every step, but he never turns back.

And how simple, how free from all religious excitement and want of balance, does the result of conversion seem in these pages.

'"But since your conversion nothing seems changed in you," some people say to me with an incredulous smile.

'They only show once again how man is impenetrable to man; for I myself know well that I have become quite different. It is clear that the fact of saying prayers morning and night, of going to church on Sundays and fête days, and performing my religious duties has not much altered my outer life. Evidently no one reads on my forehead either the reforms which I have accomplished in my actions and in my thoughts, nor the resistance which I now show to temptations to which I once gave way. It is, nevertheless, the real truth.

'That they do not find me changed does not after all surprise me; for my progress in the Christian life, that is to say, towards moral perfection, is still very feeble. Yet I have become as severe as possible towards myself; those whom I love, I love more, and dif-

[1] M. Coppée, *La Bonne Souffrance*, p. 12, preface.
[2] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 97.

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ferently, than before; and I make constant efforts to be better and more charitable.' [1]

And of M. Huysmans the same writer says:

'When Huysmans moves me is when he is human; when, newly converted, having lived to a ripe age almost entirely by the senses and having only employed his thoughts in the painful but so amusing gymnastic of letters, he suffers so much difficulty in creating an interior life; it is when he deplores, with the accents of a painful sincerity, the little warmth of his piety and the dryness of his heart in prayer.' [2]

Indeed, the chapters of *Pages Catholiques* which deal with the retreat at La Trappe are a marvellous human document: a revelation of a mystic palingenesis, a revelation, too, that through it all the 'infection of nature doth remain'; an illustration of the old truth that 'one moment's revival, or conversion, or acceptance of a formula' will not make any man's life 'an easy triumph or an endless song.'

And if the methods adopted by these spiritual guides are different from what we might have expected, simpler for all the mass of inherited casuistry than we might have guessed, and leaving much to a man's own heart and to God, there is, too, another subject which, we venture to think after reading a not inconsiderable portion of French literature, is as widely different in reality from the idea which many, even educated men, have of it, as are the poles asunder; but 'we may with the same hopes expect union in the poles of heaven' as that men will be convinced against their early convictions. It really does seem as if some minds could see nothing in direction but an impertinent dabbling of an outsider into the secrets of family life; nothing in the confessional but a penitent defenceless and writhing under the ruthless questioning of some coarse-minded boor. We would ask such men (but we should probably ask in vain) to recollect M. Lemaître's quotation from a sermon by R. P. Monsabré at Notre Dame:

'"Confess ourselves to a man! Make our lives the food of his curiosity! Deliver our secrets to the mercy of his indiscretions! It

[1] M. Coppée, *La Bonne Souffrance*, p. 16, preface.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 229.

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is impossible!" Listen to the reply of Father Monsabré. . . . "Gentlemen, the good men who reason thus forget one thing which it is important to remember; it is that this inner life, these formidable secrets of which they make so much, are for the priest who has to take knowledge of them, in their hundredth, their thousandth, perhaps their ten thousandth edition, and that they thus become no longer the food of his curiosity, but of a heroic patience. I wish I could offer to those who fear the curiosity of the priest ten or twelve hours in a confessional. I hope that at the end of that time they would ask my pardon and would know that a sentiment less trivial than curiosity is necessary to keep a priest chained to the irksome repetitions of the human conscience.

'"What? is it only to please a childish passion that he listens so solemnly to your avowals? Let me tell you, gentlemen, that you do not know him. . . . And you insist that at the supreme moment, when your heart is delivered up to him without mystery and without reserve, the priest only receives this delivery of your whole self to examine coldly your bleeding wounds and to throw himself on your soul as a dissector on a corpse? What has the priest done that he should merit this wrong?"'[1]

To turn to another view of the subject: What manner of men does this movement produce? Perhaps not the least engaging feature of M. Huysmans' *Pages Catholiques* are the pictures there given of modern mystics (and we make no apology for thus mixing fiction with our sketch of this movement, for fiction has its truthful side)—mystics each predominated by one overmastering idea which yet never obliterates the sharp individuality beneath it. One of the most powerful, and not the least beautiful, of these sketches is that of Mme. Céleste Bavoil, the Abbé Gévresin's housekeeper. A soul that is as much at home amid thoughts of heaven and of the saints as with the things of the kitchen which she scrubs so unremittingly, with a childlike ingenuousness, investing perhaps things of heaven with some mist of earth, taking earth up to heaven, certainly bringing heaven as she conceives it down to earth, Mme. Bavoil is yet no pale-eyed dreamer with gaze so fixed on eternity that she can see nothing beneath her feet. Her outward aspect reveals her whole self. Thin, slender, small, her profile, with hooked nose

[1] M. Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, p. 137.

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and hard mouth, is that of 'a dead Cæsar'; but in full face all this softens into the familiar outlines of some countrywoman's features, or 'melts into the softness of those of some placid nun.' Indeed, she seems made up of strange contradictions, of elements which might seem to be the opposite of each other, but which are all modified and placed in accord by that religiosity which is the basis of her life. Although old she is beautiful; her face has some stamp of distinction, of nobility, which are not those of her birth. She is peasant, she is nun; she breathes of the chapel and of the fields. And although she remains only the indefatigable housekeeper and servant, there is yet for her no line of severance between her soul and God but that accidental one, the want of visible sight. Durtal learns much of her history. To him

'she described her long pilgrimages across Europe, pilgrimages which she had made in former years on foot, asking alms along the roads.

'Everywhere where the Virgin had a shrine she went, a bundle of linen in one hand, an umbrella in the other, a cross of steel on her breast, a rosary hanging to her girdle. According to a note-book which she had kept at the time, she had thus traversed ten thousand five hundred leagues on foot.

'When age came she had, in her own words, lost her old courage. Heaven, which had intimated to her by an interior voice when to set out on these excursions, no longer ordered these *déplacements* . . .

' "But did you not weary of journeying thus alone?"

' "Why no, my friend; the saints did not leave me along the way; they indicated to me the house where I should receive a lodging for the night and where I should be welcomed. . . . Certainly I was not exacting: on my travels I asked only a piece of bread and a glass of water, and, for rest, a shock of straw in a stable." '[1]

Her interior history was interesting to Durtal, that inveterate student of psychology. It is no less interesting to those who are interested in the religious life of modern France. Her unquestioning belief, like another Joan of Arc, in her 'voices' led one priest to mistrust her and to refuse her absolution. Even this trial she bore with invincible

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 254.

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patience; and the Abbé Gévresin, to whom, in her own words, 'the Saviour directed her,' was more simple or more sapient. After subjecting her to long and to hard proof, he was satisfied as to her sincerity and her piety, and he had no reason to retract his courageous action in the matter. And his trustfulness was rewarded when, after a time, she became his housekeeper. Never was woman, not even a Frenchwoman, more capable in worldly things. We find her adding the garden to her other labours, and the spirit in which she undertakes it is the spirit of her every act.

'"You understand gardening, then?"' asks Durtal.

'"Me! Come, am I not a peasant? I have lived all my life in the country, and among gardens. Leave it to me, and then, if I am in difficulties, will not my friends above come and give me advice?'

'"You are astonishing, Madame Bavoil," said Durtal, disconcerted as usual by the answers of this cook who declared so composedly that she chatted with the Beyond.'[1]

His summing up of her completes a remarkable picture.

'"It is, nevertheless, quite evident," thought Durtal, "that this woman is no fool. There is nothing either hysterical or demented about her; she is very fragile and spare, but not the least nervous, and in spite of the scantiness of her food she is well, and never suffers from it; she is, moreover, a woman of good sense and an admirable manager. Rising before dawn, after having drawn near to the Sacrament, she soaps and washes the linen herself; she makes sheets and shirts, mends cassocks, manages with incredible economy; always on the watch that her master is at no loss. This wisdom in practical things has no connexion with any insanity or delirium." He knew, too, that she never accepted wages. It is true that in the eyes of the world, who only dreams of justifiable pilferings, the disinterestedness of this woman would be enough to attest her derangement; but, contrary to all received ideas, Durtal did not think that the contempt of money necessarily meant folly, and the more he thought of it the more convinced he was that she was a saint—a saint not cut-and-dried, but ready to make allowances and cheerful."'[2]

One more characteristic picture is that of the old swineherd Simeon at La Trappe. In his preface M. Huysmans

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 304.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 256.

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says this is 'a photograph without touching up.' In the book the Oblate thus describes the old man:

'"You will," he says to Durtal, "be able to declare when you return to Paris that you have seen a veritable saint, such as existed in the eleventh century; he carries us back to the times of Saint Francis of Assisi; he is, in some sort, the reincarnation of the astonishing Juniper of whom the *Fioretti* celebrates the innocent exploits."'[1]

And a page later we read again—the Oblate is still speaking:

'"Brother Simeon is an angelic being," replied the Oblate. "He lives the unitive life, bathed in the ocean of the Divine essence. Under that coarse exterior, in that poor body, dwells an absolutely white soul; a faultless soul; he is so holy that God spoils him! He has given him power over the evil one; and in certain cases He has conceded to him also power to heal sickness by the imposition of hands. He has renewed here the miraculous cures of the ancient saints."'[2]

And yet, in spite of these and the like passages, we are again and again struck by the shrewdness, the common sense, of men who can speak and believe thus. This might almost come as a surprise if we did not recollect what has been called the divine common sense of her who has been known as the last of the mystics (though indeed the royal line has never been extinct), and of such saints as St. Catherine of Siena or St. Francis de Sales. Durtal's thoughts on leaving La Trappe illustrate this view of the subject.

'Durtal thought that these men who lived the hidden life in God were so marvellous! As soon as they condescend to come down to earth they reveal themselves as the wisest of bold commercials. An abbé, with the few sous he has been able to scrape together, founds a manufactory: he discerns the employment best for each of his monks, improvises from them artisans, clerks. . . . And it is the same with women. When one thinks that the practical qualities of a man of business and the *sang-froid* of an old diplomatist are needed in a mother abbess for ruling her community, we are obliged to acknowledge that the only really intelligent and remark-

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 185.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 189.

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able women are outside drawing-rooms, outside the world, at the heads of cloisters.'[1]

These, and the like passages, read like illustrations of that truth which Liddon put into words for us in his *Some Elements of Religion.*

'It has been observed,' he says, 'that persons without natural ability have, through the earnestness of their devotional habits, acquired in time powers of sustained thought and an accuracy and delicacy of intellectual touch which would not else have belonged to them. The intellect being the instrument by which the soul handles religious truth, a real interest in religious truth will often furnish an educational discipline; it alone educates an intellect which would otherwise be uneducated.'[2]

It is no accident—it is too universal to be accidental—that great sanctity goes hand in hand with great intellectual gifts, or at least appears to improve the intellect: and it makes the belief possible that the 'abysmal infirmity' of the human intellect is one result of the fall which defaced the Divine Image in man, and that his return to something which we might almost call divine wisdom, and which we may certainly call divine common sense, is but part of that likeness to the Divine Image which we believe must be restored in our souls, but which we have grown to connect only with a moral and to separate from an intellectual improvement.

One more feature of this movement as revealed by its literature must be noticed before we end. Without going into the questions of such occasional supernatural manifestations as seem more than hinted at in such passages as 2 Cor. xii. 1, and a belief in which may, and indeed does, exist side by side with the simpler and more gracious features of the movement which we have been considering —without going into that wide and difficult subject, we must allow that the greatest miracle of all is the life of a saint and not any of those suspensions of natural law in physical things which some men believe may accompany it, and we must also allow, as we look at literature and at the world, that holiness does set a mark even on the

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 224.
[2] Dr. Liddon, *Some Elements of Religion*, p. 179.

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outward form. Again and again the whole school of neo-mysticism sets forth the indubitable fact, and with undesigned coincidence, that holiness communicates a beauty even to the outward being; a fact which it is impossible to explain away, and of which in any estimate of these things we must take count—that beauty which M. Fabre has not feared to say is the very seal set by God Himself on the perfection of the flesh. Even those who have no theory to build upon it are not slow to realize this grace. We shall all recollect Cornelius in *Marius the Epicurean*; him who 'seemed to carry about with him, superadded to the grace of the privileged world of comely usage to which he belonged, the atmosphere of some more jealously exclusive circle'; the 'body regenerated by the spirit' showing in the faces of the members of the Church in the house of Cecilia. Readers of *Pages Catholiques* will remember the humble novices in the chapel of the Franciscan nuns in whom adoration changes the coarseness of their country features into all the beauty of pious simplicity; will remember, too, the Burgundian abbot of the Grand' Trappe; him who in the distance looks like some old 'Burgundian tanned by the sun as he worked among his vines,' but seen near at hand he is transformed by 'eyes blue as water springing from the chalk, water without shadow and without ripple, eyes incredibly pure, which changed the ordinary expression of his features and took away the vinedresser's air which he had worn in the distance.'[1]

'It is,' thought Durtal, 'that the soul is everything in these people, and their faces are modelled by it. There are holy brightnesses in their eyes, on their lips, those doors to which alone the soul can come, from whence she looks outside the body and almost shows herself.'[2]

For holy souls make their presence felt among us even physically.

'Our spiritual character,' writes J. R. Illingworth in his '*Divine Immanence*,' 'reacts upon the material instrument of its realization, moulding the brain and nervous system, and thence the entire bodily

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 83.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 84.

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organization into gradual accordance with itself, till the expression of the eye, the lines of the face, the tones of the voice, the touch of the hand, the movements and manners and gracious demeanour all reveal with unceasing clearness the nature of the spirit which has made them what they are. Thus the interior beauty of holiness comes by degrees to be a visible thing; and through His action upon our spirit God is made manifest in our flesh.'

But this may very well lead us to turn our thoughts, very briefly indeed, towards two subjects with which students of this movement must be familiar: the question of miracles and the doctrine of mystic substitution.

Both questions, we believe, spring from the same thought: the belief that the Christian no longer lives a separate life, but that he is one with Christ. If we have read the literature of this movement aright, both beliefs start from this point: both are built upon the one hypothesis of Christ dwelling in the believer, and in those souls which have attained to a great degree of holiness this indwelling has reached its greatest perfection. Christ is then working in and by them; so that the saints, like sacraments, are but an extension of the Incarnation. Or, to put it in another form, the saints and their miracles (for the life of a saint is a miracle) are phenomena of which the Noumenon is Christ. He is that Something which is the cause of these appearances which dazzle and surprise human reason. If we are not mistaken, this is the foundation of that belief in miracles which undoubtedly still exists, and is as powerful to-day as in the middle ages. A visit to Brive or to Lourdes, to any of the popular shrines in France, is to know that not only the poor and the wretched, those who catch at straws to help them in their sore need, but the educated and the happy, *mondains* from Paris and cripples in horrible rags, alike throng to the shrines of these thaumaturgists, and the germ of thought which leads to this development is common perhaps to all Christian creeds: Christ in you, in the words of St. Paul. In M. Coppée's paper on Joan of Arc, he sums up:

'The miraculous power which proceeded from the Person of Christ when He was among us, He communicated to His disciples. He can always give it to His elect, in a less proportion no doubt,

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but still supernaturally; and I believe I see the sign of this superior force in the work and in the acts of Joan of Arc.'[1]

But while allowing that this belief in miracles exists, the literature of the movement which we are considering does not indeed seem to concern itself very much with the subject. The spirit of the age seems rather to be that expressed in M. Joly's *Psychologie des Saints*, a most enlightening book, and one which deserves to be widely known by the student of hagiology.

'We need,' he writes, 'less than formerly to be dazzled with the wonderful and more to be drawn to the lovable. We want to be put *en rapport* with the saints, to feel their humanity, to interpret it by our own, and thereby to realize that no miracle they ever wrought is comparable to the miracle of what they were.'

And to go on to the other subjects, which, as we have said, starts from the same hypothesis—the doctrine, we mean, of mystic substitution. Here, again, the starting-point is the belief of the apostle: 'It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me: I live, yet not I. . . .' Then when affliction comes, they echo those other words of St. Paul, 'I fill up what is behind of the sufferings of Christ'; they believe with St. Augustine that 'Christ is still suffering affliction, not in His very flesh in which He has been received into heaven, but in my flesh which labours and is sorrowful upon earth.'[2]

'Nothing is wanting to the full measure of His suffering' (these modern mystics would be the first to deprecate any thought derogatory to His Almighty merits), 'because all things written of Him are fulfilled, but fulfilled in the head. Sufferings still remain behind, but in the body. But ye are the Body of Christ and His members, therefore, as the apostle was among these members, he could say 'adimpleo quae desunt pressurarum.'[3]

Suffering, then, according to these modern mystics, may possess a dual power. It may not only purify the soul of him who suffers, but it may reach beyond itself like the Great Sacrifice with which it associates itself. To suffer is

[1] M. Coppée, *La Bonne Souffrance*, p. 201.
[2] *Speaker's Commentary* on Col. i. 24, p. 663, vol. iii.
[3] *Ibid.*

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to be joined to Christ, to share His finished work. When Durtal and the Abbé Gévresin go to the reception of the nun into the order of the Sacred Heart this is the Abbé's comment, and it is exponent of the doctrine we are considering:

'Think,' he says, 'that this elect one becomes the scapegoat for sins committed; like a lamentable Danaïde, she pours out the inexhaustible offering of her prayers and mortifications, her watchings and fasts, into the bottomless pit of sins and failings. Ah! to make reparation for the sins of the world, if you knew what that is!'[1]

But this idea is not confined to the voluntarily embraced sufferings of religious orders. If we stand away for a moment and look at M. Huysmans' books as a whole we shall see that they are, as it were, saturated with the sufferings, the sadnesses, of this world, and that the only escape from this ineluctable thought seems to these men to be the other thought that this mountain of suffering is only another Calvary; indeed, not another, but a portion of the only efficacious sacrifice through the indwelling of Christ in His mystical Body.

That book, which we have placed last on our list, *Sainte Lydwine de Schiedam*, is built upon this doctrine. It is the life of a cripple in a hovel in mediaeval Schiedam. She belongs to no religious order; her sufferings are not self-inflicted, but come to her through circumstances which she cannot mend. But she accepts them in the spirit of this belief as soon as it is elucidated to her by her one capable director among the many inferior ones who are not the least part of her trials. From him she learnt

'that humanity is governed by laws which it ignores in its carelessness, law of solidarity in evil and reversibility in good; solidarity in Adam, reversibility in our Saviour, in other words each is, up to a certain point, responsible for the faults of others and can also, up to a certain point, expiate them; and each can also, if God will, attribute in a certain measure the merits which he possesses or which he acquires to those who do not possess them, or who do not wish to gain them.

'These laws the All-powerful has promulgated, and He has first observed them in applying them to the Person of His Son. The

[1] M. Huysmans, *Pages Catholiques*, p. 87.

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Father has consented that the Word should take on His charge and pay the ransom of others. . . . .

'In fact, the Saviour cannot suffer any more Himself, for He has ascended to His Father's side in the celestial joys of heaven; His redeeming task is over with His blood, His tortures are finished with His death. If He wishes to suffer here below it can only be in His Church, in the members of His mystical Body.

'These souls who make reparation, who recommence the sufferings of Calvary, who are nailed to the empty place of Jesus on the Cross, are then in some sort the doubles of the Son: they represent, as in a bleeding mirror, His poor face; they do more: they alone give to this Almighty God something which He wants, the possibility of suffering still for us; they satisfy this desire which has survived His death, for it is as infinite as the love which brought it into being; they dispense to this marvellous Pauper the alms of tears; they establish Him afresh in the joy of those holocausts which He has forbidden Himself.'[1]

To conclude, 'le catholicisme était fini, au dire de certains, et on ne parle que de lui!' If the Catholic renaissance does not strive nor cry, if its voice is not heard in the streets, it yet exists—

'it exists,' says M. Dubosc des Pesquidoux, 'not only in minds and souls, but even in facts, in spite of persecutions, of divisions, of the weakness in the Catholic party. Although deprived of liberty, destitute of stimulus and of means of action, she obliges the enemy often if not to disarm at least to hide its manœuvres and sometimes even to retreat. The wind bloweth where it listeth: it blows often in the midst of dead bones—of ruins—and by a perpetual miracle in the history of the Church it ministers to their resurrection in proportion to the rage which the enemy brings to bear against it.'[2]

We cannot perhaps better conclude this short sketch than with M. Brémond's words in his review of that volume of *Le Siècle*, which concerns itself with progress in the Church. Because, while there is much which must seem unusual to English minds, there is yet one undoubted fact running through the whole of this reaction; the fact that it is a return to a personal love of Christ, although that love

[1] M. Huysmans, *Sainte Lydwine de Schiedam*, pp. 100, 101.

[2] M. Dubosc des Pesquidoux, *L'Immaculée Conception et la Renaissance Catholique*, p. 4 (Introduction).

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may, to some minds, seem encrusted with a multitude of exotic doctrines or doubtful devotions. *Son culte se rajeunira sans cesse.*

'*Christus vivit*,' writes M. Brémond. 'Is not Christ in truth the centre of this life, doctrinal, charitable, and conquering, of the Church? The priesthood, dogmatic formulas, apostolic or useful institutions; how little would all this move us if we did not divine, under these multiple appearances, the expansion of the same principle of life? All in fact leads to Him, and the profound life of the Church is no other thing than the active presence of Christ in the midst of souls, no other thing than the constant work of the Divine leaven in spirits and in hearts.'[1]

ART. IV.—REGNUM DEI.

Regnum Dei. The Bampton Lectures for 1901. By ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, D.D., Principal of King's College. (London, Methuen & Co., 1901.)

Regnum Dei is in many respects a remarkable book. Dr. Robertson is a scholar who is, happily, possessed of a somewhat rare combination of qualities. To massive and exact theological erudition he unites a keen historical sense and a culture not less wide than refined. As a writer, his style is somewhat difficult and occasionally wanting in finish; but it would be impossible to speak too highly of the industry and research which these lectures display. Dr. Robertson handles his learning with extraordinary ease and sureness of touch, and the whole treatment of his subject is marked by keen insight and philosophic breadth of view. The very merits of the book, however—merits which it would be difficult to overrate—make it somewhat tantalizing. It stops short abruptly at the point at which interest has been stimulated to the highest degree. Dr. Robertson himself, indeed, acknowledges the limitations imposed upon him by his task:

'The following pages,' he tells us in his preface, 'the result of the writer's reflection with a view to his own guidance in life, must

[1] R. P. Brémond, *L'Inquiétude Religieuse*, p. 313.

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be regarded as an inquiry rather than as leading up to a predetermined conclusion. They are published in the hope that a theme which has been fruitful of instruction to himself may be not unfruitful, at any rate by way of suggestion, to some others.'

The writer has, in fact, furnished us with a volume of historical 'Prolegomena,' deeply interesting and suggestive so far as they carry us, but inevitably raising the question whether the author has adequately gathered up for us the teachings of history and the lessons of Christian experience. We can only express an earnest hope that Dr. Robertson may find an opportunity at some future time of defining more exactly the relations of the Church to the Kingdom of God; or, to put it more fairly perhaps, of describing in some detail the ideal conditions of the 'brotherhood' which he holds to be so essential an element in the constitution and working of the Divine Kingdom. Dr. Robertson would no doubt reply that he has amply cautioned his readers against making such a demand. He insists that the interpretation of the great conception which forms the theme of his lectures must be 'progressive and subject to correction.' 'To promise,' he says, 'a decisive and rounded-off conclusion would therefore condemn our attempt in advance.' In his third lecture, however, he himself suggests some of the problems which naturally arise when the relation of the Church to the Kingdom and its Divine Head is seriously considered. He sks:

'We ... he solutions of these inevitable questions given by our io... vance? To claim this is either to make extravagant ... the theory of secret tradition, or to torture into our ... from the Gospels which, before the questions which ... d to decide became urgent, received interpretations ... The true reply is, surely, that they were designedly ..., in His supreme wisdom, to the test of Christian

...y, we cannot help feeling that the doctrine of ... f God implies a more complete doctrine of the ... Robertson contemplates in these lectures. The ...y in regard to certain imposing schemes and ... ch government is fully and impartially recorded

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in this volume; but several questions of the highest practical concern are left undiscussed, and it is, we repeat, tantalizing to find these questions clearly recognized and admirably stated, and yet to be told that while 'they were every one of them inevitable,' we must be content to leave them unanswered. At the risk of appearing ungrateful, we venture to express a slight sense of disappointment at the self-imposed limits of Dr. Robertson's treatment of his subject; but having said so much, we can only advise our readers to make the very most of the fine and stimulating work which the latest Bampton lecturer has given us.

In the present article we shall confine ourselves to giving a brief sketch of the general argument of the lectures, mainly in Dr. Robertson's own words.

In his history of the phrase 'Kingdom of God,' Dr. Robertson naturally begins with the teaching of the Old Testament. So far as Jewish conceptions are concerned, the most spiritual idea of the Kingdom is that of the *Benedictus*: 'That we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve Him without fear; in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of our life.' The idea of political deliverance, which is so marked a feature of the later Messianic doctrine of Judaism, is here subordinated to that of 'religious reformation and enlarged moral opportunity.' The general tendency of our Lord's teaching was to transform the national hope of Israel; He 'gradually untaught His disciples the hope as they held it at the first, and taught it them again in a wholly transformed shape.' But perhaps the most interesting feature of Dr. Robertson's first lecture is the insight with which he traces to the prophets, especially to Habakkuk and Jeremiah, the gradual growth of the idea of universal (as opposed to nationalistic) religion. This idea was, doubtless, in part the result of the stormy and troubled epoch that preceded and followed the downfall of Jerusalem and of the Jewish monarchy. Just as the break-up of political life in Greece fostered the influence of Stoicism, so the ruin of the theocratic State drove the devout Jew to seek the Kingdom of God within himself. Dr. Robertson rightly connects the famous passage of Jeremiah concerning the new covenant

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(Jer. xxxi. 31 foll.) with the verse of Habakkuk, 'The just shall live by his faith.'[1] In fact the spiritualization (if we may use the word) of religion is a direct step towards universalism. As Dr. Pfleiderer has said:

'When religion is thus carried back to its deepest centre, to the fellowship of man in his heart with God, the separating limits of the national cults fall away as meaningless; the most inward experience of what is purely human can no longer be a privilege of one people above the others—it must become a thing of the whole of mankind. Thus the extension of the religious relationship of all peoples, as we find it prophesied with magnificent boldness . . . in the second Isaiah, was the necessary consequence of the individual consciousness of the religious relationship as it grew out of the personal experiences of the great prophets in the time of the Exile.'[2]

But the downfall of the Jewish State also prepared the way for the growth of an eschatological conception of the Kingdom of God—a conception which necessarily involved the doctrine of a resurrection, if not of all individual Israelites, at least of the godly members of the nation. In his sketch of Jewish eschatology Dr. Robertson points out the importance of the series of Apocalypses which begins with Daniel and ends with the Apocalypse of St. John. Within the limits of the Old Testament, however, while there is a continuous growth of faith in keenness and intensity, there is certainly some 'retrogression from the lofty idealism of the prophets.'[3] The spirit of nationalism, in its straitest form, distinguishes the book of Daniel from the writings of the later Isaiah. The ideal of the future was conceived to be 'a righteous people reigned over by the God of all the universe.' This is practically the hope of the authors of the *Psalms of Solomon*, to the consideration of which some sections of the second lecture are devoted. The main thought of these psalms is that the future Kingdom of God 'will consist of Israel, after the Romans are expelled and the Sadducees put

[1] It is worth while to observe that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes each of these passages, though in a somewhat different connection (Heb. viii. 8 foll.; x. 38).

[2] *The Philosophy and Development of Religion* (Gifford Lectures, 1894), vol. ii. pp. 50, 51. [3] *Ibid.*

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down; not of Judah only, but of the dispersed tribes as well; and its seat will be at Jerusalem, its centre a restored temple worship.'[1] Israel will be purged from all its iniquity, and will prosper under the rule of 'Christ the Lord.' 'To share in the joys of the kingdom, the faithful dead will be raised to life,' and 'this life will be eternal and joyful.'[2]

Considering his Jewish training, the most remarkable feature in the teaching of St. Paul, which the author next examines, is his decisive exclusion of the realistic eschatology of the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic literature. St. Paul, in fact, transforms the Jewish conception of the kingdom. He discards 'all thought of a visible Hebraic kingdom, or of Jerusalem as its centre, every shred of nationalism.' On the other hand, he develops to a certain extent the eschatological side of Jewish teaching, and the result of the transforming process which St. Paul applies to Jewish conceptions is a distinction between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Christ—a distinction which perhaps corresponds to the familiar Jewish distinction between the Messianic age and the age to come. If the Kingdom of God is 'the final consummation of the Divine purpose for the rational creation, God all in all,'[3] the Kingdom of Christ is the Kingdom of God 'in the making'—the Kingdom in the stage of gradual and progressive development which precedes the *parousia*. One element, however, there is which St. Paul seems to retain from the Jewish doctrine inherited by him—the thought, namely, that the 'Kingdom' of God means the *reign* of God, rather than the realm or community over which He exercises rule.

In dealing with the Synoptic tradition, Dr. Robertson observes at the outset that in St. Matthew's phrase 'Kingdom of heaven,' the word 'heaven' represents 'the common euphemism for God, which meets us also in the parable of the Prodigal in St. Luke.'[4] In our Lord's teaching the points which, on the whole, seem to be of chief importance are the following:

First, He appears to distinguish between the *mediatorial*

[1] *Regnum Dei*, p. 42.
[2] *R. D.* p. 43.
[3] *R. D.* p. 49.
[4] *R. D.* p. 63.

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Kingdom of the Son and the Kingdom of God. 'The Kingdom of Christ is the Kingdom of God in its making—in its imperfection, in its visible growth.' [1]

Secondly, in prescribing the conditions of entrance into the Kingdom, our Lord supersedes national claims by moral conditions. 'The true sons of the Kingdom are marked out not by blood, but by disposition'; and it follows that many who now press into it from all sides [2] will be found to lack true qualifications for membership. The Kingdom is never by our Lord identified with the Church. The visible Church, with its inevitably mixed and imperfect character, is rather contemplated by Him in its mediatorial aspect, as a means and instrument for bringing about and extending the Kingdom.

Thirdly, the thought of the Kingdom of God as 'within' (*ἐντός*) men practically involves the identity of the 'Kingdom' with 'life.' To enter into the Kingdom is to 'enter into life,' for it means the establishment within the individual heart and conscience of the reign of Christ. As one of the Latin Fathers tersely expresses it: 'Hoc est regnum Dei, quando in omnibus hominibus Deus vivit, Deus agit, Deus regnat, Deus est totus, juxta illud apostoli (1 Cor. xv.), *Ut sit Deus omnia et in nobis omnibus.*' [3]

Dr. Robertson throws out a valuable hint when he observes that in the Fourth Gospel the word 'life' is virtually synonymous with 'the Kingdom of God' in the Synoptic Gospels. He truly says that this substitution is 'not simply due to the idiosyncrasy of the Fourth Evangelist,' [4] but rather represents an element in Christ's teaching 'traceable though not emphasized in the triple record.' The Kingdom is, in fact,

[1] *R. D.* p. 73.

[2] The word *βιάζεται* in Matt. xi. 12, Luke xvi. 16, suggests the idea of 'the crowd rushing in over the prostrate fences which had hitherto shut them out.'

[3] Petrus Chrysologus, *De Orat. Dom.* Cyprian is referring to the second Advent when he says (*De Orat. Dom.* xiii.), 'Potest vero et *ipse Christus* esse regnum Dei, quem venire quotidie cupimus.' Augustine comes nearer to the 'Deus vivit' of Petrus Chrysologus when he says that in praying 'Thy kingdom come' *ut bene vivas tibi oras* (*Serm.* lvi. 6).

[4] *R. D.* p. 92.

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'life—life to be enjoyed as an eternal activity of the soul in the completed Kingdom of God, but to be experienced now as a renovation of the inner self, as the reign of Christ in our hearts and wills and character.'[1] We here touch upon a point which Dr. Robertson has emphasized with the most admirable clearness. The thought that the Kingdom of God 'is not simply an idea, nor simply an institution, but a life, and of that life—the Christian life—the Church is the nurse and home,'[2] seems to us to be one of those illuminating and 'determinative' conceptions which throw a real light on the ideal functions, and even the ideal organization, of the Church, regarded as the channel and 'home' of a Divine life. If the 'return to Christ' is to be a fruitful movement, the starting-point for a true theory of the Church is surely to be found, if anywhere, in the consideration that, according to our Lord's own thought, the Kingdom of God is the 'life' which consists in His indwelling presence.

Dr. Robertson remarks in his preface that, in attempting to gather up the lessons of Christian experience, the Church of to-day has probably 'more to learn from St. Augustine than from any other ancient interpreter of the mind of Christ and of the Apostolic Church.' With Augustine begins the history of the mediæval idea of the kingdom of God; with him ends the period of the prevalence of Millenniarism—an opinion which he tells us was formerly his own, but which he was led to abandon, chiefly, perhaps, as the result of his own study of the doctrine of grace. In any case, however, Augustine devoted his genius to the service of the Church 'as he found it.' The moral authority of the Catholic Church appealed even more powerfully to his heart than to his intellect. 'His Catholic Churchmanship was not only a matter of intellectual conviction, but of deep habitual emotion.' He owed his conversion 'to the silent argument of the Catholic Church. By the Church is inspired all that incomparable warmth of love, gratitude, compunction, ineffable yearning of the inmost soul, which speaks to God in the *Confessions*.'[3] But in view of his controversy with Donatism and Pelagianism there pressed

[1] *R. D.* p. 97. [2] *R. D.* p. 98.
[3] *R. D.* pp. 185, 186.

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upon Augustine the intellectual necessity of framing some theory of the Church, in its relation to the Kingdom of God, that should include and account for the actual facts of experience. If he did not actually use the phrase 'invisible Church,' the statement is at least justifiable that 'the phrase represents elements and ideas which the Reformers owed to Augustine.'[1] The unqualified identification of the visible Church with the Kingdom was impossible in view of the mixed character of the Church. 'Multi tales sunt in sacramentorum communione cum Ecclesia, et tamen jam non sunt in Ecclesia.'[2] On the other hand, it was incompatible with Augustine's own doctrine of grace. If grace is an absolute gift of God, and salvation depends, not on mere external communion with the Church, but on the will or decree of God, there must be many sheep without, as there are many wolves within, the visible fold. The Church can only be identified with the kingdom in so far as it embraces 'those who are truly living members of Christ,' and those alone.[3] Augustine's teaching on this point is summarized very clearly in the concluding paragraph of Dr. Robertson's fifth lecture. The true and perfect Kingdom of God belongs to the world to come; it is 'reserved for the eternity when that which is in part shall be done away.' But 'there is an inchoate and imperfect, but still a true, embodiment of the kingdom of Christ on earth. The Church may be regarded in two ways: either as the external society bound together by the sacraments, the *correptio*,[4] and the hierarchy, or else as the sum-total of those now on earth who are predestined to eternal life. It is the latter aspect of the Church, accordingly, that alone satisfies the Augustinian identification of the Church with the kingdom of Christ on earth.'[5] Dr. Robertson, however, draws attention to the fact that Augustine constantly passes from the ideal to the phenomenal; 'he is constantly applying, ideally, to the *externa communio* of the Church conceptions derived from

[1] Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 541.

[2] *De Unit. Eccl.* xxv. See other references in Fairbairn, *op. cit.* p. 542, *note.*

[3] *R. D.* p. 195.

[4] On the meaning of *correptio* see *R. D.* p. 198, *note* 2.

[5] *R. D.* p. 222.

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the consideration of the *communio sanctorum*, the unalterable number of the elect.' It is this circumstance that makes it difficult to fix Augustine's theory with absolute precision. But it may be suggested that we have a Biblical parallel to Augustine's 'cross and circulatory' mode of speech in the language of the later Isaiah respecting the ideal 'servant of Jehovah,' a title which the prophet applies sometimes to the Israelitish nation as a whole, regarded from the point of view of the mission which it was divinely intended to fulfil in history; sometimes to the godly nucleus of Israel, conscious of Jehovah's purpose of grace, and devoting itself to the task which the nation as a whole had neglected: in a word, Israel according to the spirit, in opposition to Israel according to the flesh.[1] Hence, in Augustine's thought and language 'the visible hierarchically organized Church acquires much of the ideal character of the kingdom of God,' and this conception becomes the basis of the mediæval view of the Church as an omnipotent Society, strong in its compact organization, in its command of resources other than spiritual, above all in its possession of 'a central authority capable of wielding the prerogatives of the *civitas Dei*.'[2]

Thus Augustine paved the way for the absolute monarchy of the mediæval Popes. But further, in the *De Civitate*, the greatest and most elaborate product of his genius, he at least suggested that view of the earthly State which lent such powerful support to the pretensions of the later Papacy. In the latter part of his famous treatise Augustine puts forward a view of the State which undermines entirely what we may call its natural or philosophic basis. The *civitas terrena*, he holds, is founded on the love of self. It 'pursues merely the *pax terrena*.' 'It works its way by force or fraud. Apart from justice—which the earthly *civitas* can only possess by borrowing from the *civitas Dei*—the great empires of the world have been, nay, the earthly commonwealth, the State *per se*, is simply, a great brigandage, *grande latrocinum*.' From one point of view Augustine in effect identifies the secular power with the kingdom of the devil.[3]

[1] See Delitzsch on *Isaiah* xlii. 1.

[2] *R. D.* p. 227.

[3] Dr. Robertson (*R. D.* p. 210) points out that this summary fails to do entire justice to Augustine's 'full complex of thought.'

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The full-blown consequences of this theory appear in the Hildebrandine conception of the Church, or, rather, in the doctrine of modern Jesuit canonists that the Church is a '*Societas perfecta*, an institution equipped with all that is necessary to a self-contained body politic,' 'dependent, that is, on no other power for the complete resources and apparatus of government.'[1] Gregory VII. practically pushed his theory that the world should be ruled by the Church 'to its legitimate conclusion, that of a claim to feudal supremacy over all the world.' 'Gregory,' says Dr. Robertson, 'defined once for all the attitude of the Papacy towards the civil power.' Not even Innocent III. nor Boniface VIII. 'could add anything in principle to the Gregorian system.'[2] Incidentally Dr. Robertson gives an interesting account of the forgery of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and shows how effectually they served the purpose of establishing and consolidating the Papal autocracy. The inevitable collision of the Hildebrandine ideal not only with the claims of the rising spirit of nationality, but with the growth of more spiritual conceptions of the Church and its functions, is described in some fascinating pages of the sixth lecture. These conceptions find their first spokesman in Arnold of Brescia, the pupil of Abelard, who pleads with passionate earnestness for a return on the part of the clergy to apostolic ideals of life.[3] The conflict, however, between Papal supremacy and the legitimate claims of the secular power were first brought to an issue by the heroic emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, but what might have proved a decisive struggle was cut short by the Emperor's premature death in 1190. 'His death by drowning,' observes Dr. Robertson, 'on his way to recover the Holy City from the Saracens is the tragic symbol of a noble life frustrated in its devotion to a noble, if unrealizable, ideal.'[4]

[1] *R. D.* pp. 214, 257.

[2] *R. D.* p. 252.

[3] Otto of Freisingen, *De Reb. gest. Frider.* ii. 20: 'Dicebat enim, nec clericos proprietatem, nec episcopos regalia, nec monachos possessiones habentes aliqua ratione salvari posse. Cuncta haec Principis esse, ab ejusque beneficentia in usum tantum laicorum cedere oportere' (quoted by Gieseler, *E. H.* iii. 51).

[4] *R. D.* p. 264.

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It was reserved for Dante, 'the completest embodiment of the mediæval spirit, in all its complexity and simplicity, its depth and strength, its poetry and its prose,' to challenge the theory of government which had been created to justify papal absolutism. Unhappily, Thomas Aquinas himself had lent his powerful support to the cause of Papalism. In the *De Regimine Principum*, of which Books I. and part of II. belong to the 'Angelic Doctor' himself, we have an attempt 'to formulate a new Catholic philosophy with the aid of the *Politics* of Aristotle.'[1] The work was continued, and completed before 1300, by a disciple of Thomas. The general tone of the treatise may be illustrated by a single quotation. 'Corporale et temporale ex spirituali et perpetuo dependet, sicut corporis operatio ex virtute animae. Sicut ergo corpus per animam habet esse, virtutem et operationem, ita et temporalis jurisdictio Principum per spiritualem Petri et successorum ejus.'[2] The result of this and other literary attempts to justify the assumptions of Hildebrand and his successors was a reaction which found in Dante its most illustrious representative. His *De Monarchia*, the date of which is uncertain, 'is the outcome.... of an undercurrent of thought and feeling which had been gathering strength from the twelfth century onwards.'[3] We venture to quote a general survey of the book by a master hand, to which, so far as we can discover, Dr. Robertson does not refer, though it sums up very clearly the main points of his own excellent analysis:

'In this scene of violence and disorder, with the Papacy gone astray, the Empire debased and impotent, the religious orders corrupted, power meaning lawlessness, the well-disposed become weak and cowardly, religion neither guide nor check to society, but only the consolation of its victims, Dante was bold and hopeful enough to believe in the Divine appointment, and in the possibility, of law and government—of a state. In his philosophy the institutions which provide for man's peace and liberty in this life are part of God's great order for raising men to perfection; not indispensable, yet ordinary parts; having their important place, though but for the present time; and though imperfect, real instruments of His moral

[1] *R. D.* p. 272.
[2] Lib. iii. c. 10 (apud Gieseler, *E. H.* iii. 151). [3] *R. D.* p. 287.

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government. He could not believe it to be the intention of Providence that on the introduction of higher hopes and the foundation of a higher society, civil society should collapse and be left to ruin, as henceforth useless or prejudicial in man's trial and training. He saw the significant intimations of nature that law and its results, justice, peace and stability, ought to be and might be realized among men; he could not think that they had lost their meaning and faded away before the announcement of a kingdom not of this world. And if the perfection of civil society had not been superseded by the Church, it had become clear, if events were to be read as signs, that she was not intended to supply its political offices and functions. . . . Failure had made it certain that, in [Dante's] strong and quaint language, "Virtus authorizandi regnum nostrae mortalitatis est contra naturam ecclesiae; ergo non est de numero virtutum suarum." Another and distinct organization was required for this, unless the temporal order was no longer worthy the attention of Christians.'[1]

In the *De Monarchia* we find, in fact, not only the ideal form of Greek political theory, but the principle which underlies the fabric of modern European polity and civilization. In effect Dante 'condemns the temporal power in every shape and form,' whether it is intended to imply universal jurisdiction or temporal sovereignty over a particular territory. Such power, he clearly saw, was incompatible with the spiritual office and character of the Church. More significant still is Dante's express assertion that 'the whole Divine law is contained within the compass of the two Testaments,' a statement which definitely recognizes the superiority of Scriptural authority to that of the Church. It is only a step in advance that William of Ockham takes when he denies not merely the right of the Pope to temporal power, but also the claim to infallible authority.[2] Marsilius of Padua, in the *Defensor pacis*, supports the contention of Dante that Scripture alone is to be the ultimate criterion of belief necessary to salvation.[3] In his political theory he goes beyond him. His conception of the temporal 'prince' as 'the supreme organ of the law' and the head of the executive, deriving his authority from the 'legislator,' or legislative body, which is defined to mean 'the col-

[1] Dean Church, *Dante and other Essays* (Macmillan and Co.), p. 93.
[2] *R. D.* p. 310. [3] *R. D.* p. 319.

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lective body of the citizens, or at least the majority of them, is a practical assertion of the sovereignty of the people. 'In fact,' says Dr. Robertson, 'with the natural exception of the machinery of representative institutions, the essential conditions of modern constitutional government are here for the first time clearly thought out.' [1]

The movement of Wycliffe in England is more familiar to most readers than the literary polemic carried on by writers like Dante, Ockham and Marsilius, and it is, accordingly, very briefly noticed by Dr. Robertson. He closes his seventh lecture with a thoughtful survey of the main results of the counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent, while it finally formulated the dogma of the Church on most of the disputed points of mediæval doctrine, left open three questions of pressing importance. In regard to the doctrine of grace, the view which has ultimately prevailed in the Roman communion is what Dr. Robertson calls 'a subtle semi-Pelagianism,' [2] the triumph of which is symbolized in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. A second question, relating to the constitution of the Church and the independent rights of the episcopate, was virtually decided in favour of the mediæval or Papal theory in 1870, as also was the question as to the 'ultimate and decisive vehicle of tradition.' [3] A third point, bearing upon the enforcement of the moral law, was left unsettled by the Council. In regard to this it is sufficient to notice the grave and, indeed, ominous circumstance that the influence of the Jesuits has virtually succeeded in overbearing 'the better judgment of the Church.' In fact, the system known as 'Probabilism' has triumphed, and Dr. Robertson points out how closely the system is connected with the Hildebrandine view

[1] *R. D.* p. 315. [2] *R. D.* p. 336.

[3] The question of the precise meaning of Papal infallibility has recently been raised afresh by Lord Halifax in his preface to *England and the Holy See*, by the Rev. Spencer Jones. A writer in the *Guardian* (February 19, 1902) states what is in effect the view of Lord Halifax as follows: 'The true notion of Papal infallibility is that which sees in it the visible symbol of organic unity, whereby the head gives articulate utterance to the unformulated thought of the body of which he is the representative and mouthpiece.'

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of the kingdom of Christ, formulated in the modern theory of the Church as *Societas perfecta.* He ends his remarks on the counter-Reformation by expressing a hope that the formal and official theory of the Roman Curia, involving as it does 'the condemnation as abnormal and monstrous of all the dearly bought liberties upon which what is best in modern civilization has been built,' may not be a final result. We can only say, in reference to the very impressive sections which close Dr. Robertson's seventh lecture, that they have a most important bearing upon the projects of reunion which have lately been put forward by distinguished sons of the English Church. To our mind they prove conclusively that in all essential points the attitude of the Roman Church towards 'the rights of conscience, rights of self-government, the freedom of learning and science, the enlarged moral aim of society and the State,'[1] has not been modified to any appreciable extent. It seems strange that the incapacity of the Church of Rome for change should actually be put forward as a valid ground for the renewal by English Churchmen of efforts at *rapprochement.*[2]

The concluding lecture is mainly devoted to a summary of results. With regard to the Reformation, Dr. Robertson notices that it contributed little or nothing to the conception of the Kingdom of God. The idea of an invisible Church, by whomsoever originated, is little more than a revival of the Augustinian idea of the *communio sanctorum.* 'What the Reformers did,' says Dr. Fairbairn,[3] 'was simply to develop Augustine's position into logical consistency by conceiving the Church through its ultimate constitutive factor, the will of God. So construed, it became the society of the elect, or company of the predestinated, or simply the Church invisible, while the visible was the mixed body who lived in outward profession. But this only showed that the inheritance of Augustine was divided: the Catholics succeeded to his polity, the Reformers to his theology. The anti-Donatist was the father of the visible Church, but the anti-Pelagian the father

[1] *R. D.* p. 347.
[2] Cp. Spencer Jones, *England and the Holy See*, pp. 31 foll.
[3] *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 543.

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of the invisible.' The Reformed conception of the Church is, in fact, closely bound up with a predestinarian doctrine which is derived from Augustine. This is more evidently the case, however, with Calvin than with Luther, who emphasizes the invisibility of the Church mainly in opposition to the theory that a visible society postulates a visible head. Regarded as a visible body, the Church has certain external marks, namely the due preaching of the Word and administration of the sacraments. As Dr. Robertson points out, the definition of the Church in the Augsburg Confession has passed into the English Articles, and is open to the obvious criticism that it is too vague to be satisfactory.

A brief survey is given of the system of Ritschl. Dr. Robertson holds that, in spite of some defective elements, the Ritschlian idea of the Church in its relation to the Kingdom of God is somewhat closely akin to that of Augustine. Ritschl conceives of the Church as 'the Kingdom of God in the making in so far as she is, by her priesthood, faith and life,' progressively realizing the character of an 'ideal moral brotherhood.'[1] But we must pass on at once to gather up the results of Dr. Robertson's elaborate inquiry. What does he conceive to be, on the whole, the teaching of Christian experience in regard to the nature of the Kingdom of God and its relationship to the Church?

He insists, in the first place, that no conception of the Kingdom can be adequate which fails to take account both of the eschatological and the personal element in our Lord's teaching. The Kingdom of God must be sought in the reign of God, which the second Advent is destined to inaugurate. None the less does it imply the actual and present life in human hearts and consciences of Christ Himself. 'The kingdom of God is within you.' But a merely individualistic theory of the kingdom conflicts with the 'irrepressible Christian instinct' that seeks in this world some visible and corporate embodiment of it. 'The eternal and perfect kingdom of God demands its earthly counterpart in the society of Christ's people on earth.'[2] And here experience yields at least negative results. 'The verdict of history has condemned

[1] *R. D.* p. 358. [2] *R. D.* p. 365.

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the attempt to realize the earthly kingdom of Christ in the form of a Church whose organization is omnipotent in the affairs of the world.' History has condemned the attempt in so far as it has shown that 'the system inevitably collides with indispensable moral ideals, and that it falls short of the full grandeur and height of the Christianity of the New Testament.'[1] Of the alternatives so admirably stated by Dr. Robertson, 'righteousness by means of government and government by means of righteousness,' the first is the rudimentary method, indispensable in 'the infancy of civilization'; the latter implies the maturity of character that comes with advancing moral experience. The former is, in fact, the Jewish ideal, the latter the essentially Christian ideal. The Roman Catholic conception of the Church corresponds to the former, 'the latter is the real and fundamental idea of Augustine; it is that of St. Paul and of Christ Himself.'[2]

So far Dr. Robertson carries his readers with him; nor can there be any question that he is correct in representing the New Testament ideal of moral and spiritual regeneration as resulting from 'free fellowship' in a community. 'To a false individualism, not government, but brotherhood, is the true antithesis.' The ideal aim of the Church as the mediatorial instrument through which the Kingdom of God is extended, is to recover and intensify 'her original sense of brotherhood.'[3] But here at once perplexing questions arise. The Church as a *unitas fratrum* possesses moral and spiritual authority[4]; she requires system and organization. The very fact that she needs such organization may imply a state of imperfection, but the need is there. What, then, is the seat, and what are the limits, of the Church's authority? What is the type of organization that is either essential to corporate well-being or most effective as an instrument of spiritual discipline? It is at this point that Dr. Robertson's guidance fails us, and we are left with the impression that, while the Church on earth is the means and instrument by which the Kingdom of God is extended, it is useless to rely on the experience of history in seeking to determine the form of

[1] *R. D.* p. 367.
[2] *R. D.* p. 281; cp. p. 368.
[3] *R. D.* p. 370.
[4] *R. D.* p. 371.

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organization or the system by which the Church's work may be most effectually accomplished. We cannot, indeed, be surprised that when schemes of reunion, some of them singularly crude and short-sighted, are in the air, even a writer of Dr. Robertson's eminence should hesitate to touch upon some of the burning questions involved in the very idea of reunion. It is quite possible to recognize, as Dean Church does in his sermon on 'The Episcopate in Christian History,' that Episcopacy has contributed greatly to the keeping up 'the continuity and identity of the Christian society': the idea that 'from first to last it is one';[1] but, as we have been lately reminded, the absolute necessity of episcopal *regimen* has been raised even by learned and devout representatives of Anglo-Catholicism.[2]

On the whole, the germ-thought which strikes us as most likely to be fruitful in Dr. Robertson's lectures is the suggestion that the kingdom of God is conceived of in the Gospels as 'life.'[3] If the unity of the Church be, as Cyril of Alexandria teaches in a memorable passage,[4] a unity of inward life, a life flowing from Christ Himself, it seems to follow that the sacramental system and the ministry of the Church are essential to its diffusion and maintenance. If a unity is to be hoped for 'wh ch shall include all that is lasting and healthy in the diversities of to-day,'[5] some theory of the Christian ministry must be framed which, while recognizing the due diversity of gifts and operations in our divided Christendom, must do justice to the truth that eternal life is a gift from above, and that, as in the case of the natural life, there must be conditions which safeguard, or which hinder, its transmission. In a word, we must recognize the fact that the teaching of the New Testament connects the idea of unity with the idea of an organized and divinely commissioned ministry,[6] and represents such ministry as a gift from God. The question is, What are the safeguards and conditions of this gift, and by what marks may it be recognized?

[1] See *Pascal and other Sermons*, Serm. iv.
[2] *E.g.* Bishop Andrewes. See his letters to Peter du Moulin.
[3] *R. D.* p. 68; cp. pp. 92 foll.
[4] *In Ioann.* lib. xi. c. 11.
[5] *R. D.* p. 349.
[6] Eph. iv.; 1 Cor. xii.

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ART. V.—THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

1. *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction.* By R. W. DIXON, D.D. Vols. V. and VI. Elizabeth, 1558-1570. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.)
2. *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion,* 1558-1564. By HENRY GEE, B.D., F.S.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898.)
3. *The Elizabethan Prayer Book and Ornaments.* By HENRY GEE, D.D., F.S.A. (London: Macmillan, 1902.)

THE most crucial period of the history of the English Church, the early years of Elizabeth, have waited long for a historian. An annalist and compiler they had of the best sort in Strype, a cursory treatment by Heylyn, Burnet, Collier, and others; but for well nigh two hundred years little has been done to clear up the difficulties, or even to make use of such new evidence as recent efforts have made available—State Papers, Privy Council Acts, &c. It is a matter of great thankfulness that Dr. Dixon was spared to carry his work down to the year 1570. At one period, after the issue of his Marian volume, those who knew him best would hardly have dared to hope for anything of the sort; but God granted him a further term of activity and work, with the result that his labours are crowned by the issue under Dr. Gee's very competent editorship of the fifth and sixth volumes. They cover the most important era, and the earliest years have had the fullest advantage of Dr. Dixon's final correction. If the treatment of the later years of the period 1567–1570 lacks the same completeness and ripeness, it is a consolation to reflect that they are years of less crucial importance; and in spite of this the two new volumes form a fine crown and coping to the *monumentum aere perennius* which Dr. Dixon has erected to the glory of the English Church.

The debt which is owed to Dr. Gee by all students of

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English Church history for his labour of love and editorial care in issuing these volumes is further increased by the two volumes of solid and original work which he has issued on his own account, one before and one after the appearance of Dr. Dixon's volumes. They form special studies of knotty points of just such a character as is needed, and in them the results of thorough and dispassionate investigation are stated with skill and judgment. It is by the help of such monographs that the true knowledge of history is advanced, and in this particular instance the general history as unfolded by Dr. Dixon is justified, elucidated, or, very rarely, corrected by Dr. Gee's special studies.

The opportunity thus presents itself for a review of these crucial years, made possible by the new light and sound judgment of these books. The history of the events still remains exceedingly obscure, for secrecy and despatch seem to have been the method of the early ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth and Cecil, coupled, possibly, with a reluctance to leave behind them much trace of the methods and processes by which the results were attained. The labour of the investigator and the skill of the ripe scholar, and the historical imagination which makes scanty facts live and speak, are therefore all the more valuable and remunerative.

The reign opens in Dr. Dixon's History with some reflection of the glamour and some echo of the applause which hailed the advent of the people's queen; the balance of parties is well depicted—the rising hopes of the Edwardines and the falling hopes of the Marians. (With all our appreciation of Dr. Dixon's judgment, we cannot write his cumbrous terms 'Evangelics' and 'Romanensians.') The temporizing of the Queen in religious worship became less ambiguous, as on Christmas Day she issued an order against the Elevation of the Host in the Mass. Dr. Dixon thinks that she was twice in conflict with the celebrant in her private chapel on this point, but this seems hardly to be likely or consistent with the evidence. It is true that the accounts of the incident do not agree as to who and of what standing the uncompliant prelate was; but such differences are not uncommon; ambassadors constantly misreported names and

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even events; and there seems to be little real doubt that after the contest with Oglethorp on Christmas Day had ended in the victory of the Bishop and the retirement of the Queen there were found compliant chaplains to do what the Bishop refused to do, and the Queen heard the Mass to the end, without the Elevation taking place.

The same tendency on Dixon's part to duplicate events because of conflicting testimony appears again in the same week of the history. The famous *Proclamation to forbid preaching*, dated December 27, 1558, was proclaimed in the city on December 30 and published in the churches on Sunday, January 1. It was surely this which was shown to the Spanish ambassador, and not another issued on December 29, as Dixon supposes. Dyson's collection of Proclamations knows of no other, and it could hardly fail, if another had existed, to include so important a document as this would be. The collection no doubt is incomplete; it does not include all the proclamations about the celebrated lottery of 1568; these were but small affairs; but it is quite another thing to omit a proclamation like this, which, if it existed, was of primary importance. Moreover, when the suggestion that there were two is traced, it is found to come through Heylyn from Hayward's *Annals*, and, moreover, through a misunderstanding, for Hayward's words by no means necessarily imply that there were two proclamations.

We must pass over some events and come to the Liturgical question of the day, and here we have Dr. Gee's very full study as well as Dr. Dixon's account. The former gives more fully than the latter the two most valuable State documents which are available, viz. *The Device for the Alteration of Religion* and Gooderick's *Divers Points of Religion*. Dr. Dixon made good use of them, but Dr. Gee has studied them more deeply, and prints them in full in his Appendix, together with the somewhat similar but less interesting State paper, *The Distresses of the Commonwealth*, by Armigail Waad. The earliest liturgical change was the adoption of the English Litany. Dixon does not note, but Gee does, the connexion of this with Gooderick's suggestion, and neither of them notes that the Litany had been issued in English in

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a Marian form[1] without the anti-papal clause: that is, practically in the shape in which Elizabeth issued it. Dr. Dixon assigns the issue to the Committee for the Prayer Book, of which more anon; but it seems clear that this service was held by Gooderick to be already available because it was older than the Edwardine liturgies which Mary's repeal had made inadmissible. Gooderick speaks of it as 'the English Litany and Suffrages used in King Henry's time,' so that he had not the Marian issue before him; but nevertheless, the Litany as issued was in the Marian not in the Henrician form—that is to say, the official issue, for there was also an unofficial issue which was of the Edwardine form.

With regard to the revision of the Prayer Book, Dixon takes the *Device for Alteration of Religion* as being not merely a proposal, but a proposal which was carried out; he thus assumes that the committee there nominated was appointed, met and did its work; even perhaps that it consumed at Sir Thomas Smith's lodgings in Canon Row the provision of wood, coals, and drink which the thoughtful deviser prescribed for it. But this is very precarious, and Dr. Gee is better advised in hesitating much and refusing such a conclusion. There is also an interesting difference of view with regard to the famous undated letter of Edmund Guest to the 'Right Honourable,' probably Cecil, which has been considered hitherto the main light available upon the obscure history of the Elizabethan Book. Dixon still takes this line, and gives in the main the account of it which has been traditional since it was first published by Strype. This is, that Guest had been added to the committee named in the *Device*, that the First Book of Edward had been propounded to it as the basis of discussion, and that Guest wrote his letter on behalf of the committee to justify its rejection of this basis, and its revision upon different lines.

Gee has a revolutionary view; after a very close and careful scrutiny of the letter and the circumstances, he concludes that it is quite wrongly assigned to this date, and that it really belongs to the Edwardine revision of 1552. This startling contention hallenges inquiry. He deals with the

[1] Procter and Frere, *New History of B. C. P.* p. 95.

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case very systematically, traces the whole of the traditional view back to the conjecture of Strype, who found the letter among Parker's MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, just as it was sent to him by Cecil in 1566, and assigned to it this date and a somewhat overstrained interpretation. Dr. Gee, besides the absence of date, alleges also the character of the handwriting, which he notes is considerably changed by the time when another autograph letter of Guest is available for comparison, *i.e.* about 1565. Thirdly, he shows that Guest is not *en évidence* at this juncture; does not appear at all till the beginning of March 1559, and so on. Fourthly, he argues that the letter fits ill with the Elizabethan surroundings, that the First Book by then had no fautors, and that other points in the letter are out of harmony with the time. Lastly, he shows that the letter does not agree with the Elizabethan Book as we know it, and therefore cannot be a defence of it. He then urges that the letter fits well with the circumstances of 1552, especially in view of the discussion on kneeling at Communion which was then in progress. He denies in conclusion that the letter refers to the revision of 1559, or to any stage in it, but maintains that, though it clearly is not exactly square with the Book of 1552, it may represent a stage in that revision. We confess to being entirely unconvinced by the interesting and able argument; and, having given Dr. Gee's *pros*, will now attempt to summarize the *cons*. His first point—the absence of date—must be conceded; it is merely a question of fact. His second point, that Guest's handwriting cannot have deteriorated so much in six years, seems inconclusive; even six years of episcopal correspondence, to say nothing of advancing age, might well, to our thinking, play havoc with a hand that was not over good to start with. The matter should perhaps be referred for settlement to the Upper House of Convocation. His third argument seems to tell more against him than for him; if Guest was not prominent in 1559 he was less so in 1552 (and the same may be said of Cecil); at any rate at the later date Guest was on the verge of the episcopate. It is round the fourth and fifth points that the debate must mainly hang.

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Our contention as to the last is brief, and may as well come first. Granted that the letter does not fit the Elizabethan Book, it does not fit the Edwardine Book either. Dr. Gee himself concedes that, so far as the question of kneeling goes; and he leaves out of sight other inconsistencies which we hope to show in a moment. He claims it as belonging *to a stage* in the revision of 1552: does it not more probably belong to a stage in the revision of 1559? or, to speak more explicitly, is it not a defence of an abortive book which a revision committee drew up early in 1559, only to be strangled at birth? This at any rate is the rival theory; and now, with both contentions before us, we can fall to the main work of the discussion.

Does the document as it stands accord better with the circumstances of 1552 or of 1559? At a first perusal the way in which 'the First Book' is spoken of cannot escape notice, and a second perusal deepens the impression of the first. 'Praying for the dead is not now used in the communion' (*i.e.* in the new order which Guest is defending) 'because . . . , and also because (as it was used in the first book) it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven . . . &c.'

This is not the language of some one talking about the *existing* book, which he was using every day of his life, as was the case with 'the First Book' in 1551-2. It was not 'the First Book' until there was a second, any more than Queen Victoria is 'Victoria I' until there comes a second. Even in this reign she is not 'Victoria I;' still less was she while she was regnant.

A similar phrase occurs in the heading following: 'Of the Prayer in the First Book for Consecration,' to which the same objection arises. Guest is referring to a bygone system, not to the existing book.

This is made more abundantly clear in the first section of the letter. 'Ceremonies once taken away as evil used should not be taken again though they be not evil of themselves . . .' What are the ceremonies against whose reintroduction Guest is protesting? They are ceremonies taken away, not existing. In 1552 this can only refer to ceremonies anterior to 1548 or 1549; was there any proposal in 1552 to recover

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these? The idea is preposterous. It is far more likely, and more consonant with the whole document, that it refers to a proposal in 1559 to reintroduce the ceremonies of 1549 which had been 'taken away as evil used' in 1552

The abolition of crosses, outdoor processions, and vestments other than a surplice, which the next three sections advocate, might belong equally to 1552 or 1559, but the two former do not seem to belong to the actual published Prayer Book of either the one date or the other. The fifth section is apparently the defence of an order that non-communicants should be sent out of church after the offertory; and the sixth that the saying of the creed should be deferred till they were gone. Such proposals might also belong to either date, and equally they were carried out at neither; but it is noticeable that the desire to exclude non-communicants is much more a marked feature of the exilic mind than of the Edwardine.

The seventh and eighth sections both deal with 'the First Book,' and it has been already remarked that this language cannot belong to 1552. The rest of the eighth section is also equally out of harmony with the circumstances of 1552. It is an adverse criticism of the Edwardine canon, partly because of the Invocation, and partly because of the prayer 'that the bread and wine may be Christ's body and blood; which makes for the popish transubstantiation.' The phrase is incorrectly quoted from the First Prayer Book; it ran thus—'that they may be unto us the body and blood,' etc.; and the fact, that at such an important point there is a serious misquotation made, points to the book being obsolete and scarce, as it was in 1559, rather than to its being the book in current use. When Bucer raised this objection in 1551–2 it was not misquoted.

The ninth section 'on receiving the Sacrament in our hands' is equally susceptible of either date. The tenth is on the vexed question 'of receiving standing or kneeling;' and on this Dr. Gee greatly relies. We think, however, that in reality the argument tells against him. It is true that great discussion was held on this point in 1552, but it was not during the time of the revision; the discussion broke out quite

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suddenly in the autumn, not only after the book had passed the revisers, but long after it had passed parliament (April). The direction to kneel had been introduced and passed with no discoverable sound of any dissentient voice, till, on the eve of publication, and after some copies had been actually issued, the storm broke out. Now this concluding section of the letter of Guest is quite irreconcilable with this state of things, for it speaks of the book (i) leaving the attitude optional, and (ii) not yet passed by parliament; whereas all the evidence goes to show that the posture of kneeling was directed by the rubric of the book of 1552 without any alternative, and that it was unquestioned until several months had elapsed since it had been passed by parliament.

To these detailed arguments there may be added the general one, that a letter such as Guest's does not as a whole fit in with what is known of the revision of 1552. The facts are lamentably few; but at least it is clear (i) that a number of bishops, with Cranmer at their head, are the revisers; (ii) that Cheke is the one person outside the episcopal bench whose opinion is important; (iii) that the corrections 'in the published book,' as Martyr calls it, were noted in their places in a copy of the same in the end of January or the beginning of February. It is difficult to find a stage in such a revision to which Guest's letter can belong, describing as it does a book so unlike that which issued in 1552; for there are no signs in the Second Book of rubrics prohibiting the cross or outdoor processions, or the ejection of non-communicants, or the postponement of the creed till after the offertory, or leaving the attitude of communion optional.

It may be objected that neither is his letter a description of the book of 1559, and this is true; but the question is rather, whether such a book as that which Guest's letter postulates is more likely to be a stage in the revision of 1552 or of 1559. We have given reasons for denying it to the former, and will now give some reasons for ascribing it to the latter.

First, there is nothing known of the Elizabethan revision except this letter, and the proposal of *The Device*, which cannot be shown to have been adopted; therefore no objection

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as to unsuitableness can be raised against 1559, as we have raised it against 1552, unless it be upon purely general grounds.

Secondly, there is much in the parliamentary history of the Elizabethan liturgical reform to confirm the suggestion that at a certain stage in the proceedings a book, not by any means identical with the book that ultimately passed the Houses, was not only prepared, by revisers presumably, but actually submitted to parliament. Dr. Gee has himself done much in his two monographs to elucidate the course of Elizabeth's first parliament, and it seems an act of savagery further to sharpen his own weapon and then turn it against himself. But the facts are these. On February 15, three weeks after the opening of parliament and a week after the introduction of the first Supremacy Bill, a 'bill for order of service and ministers in the Church' was introduced into the Commons and read the first time; on the following day 'the Bill for Common Prayer and Administring of Sacraments' was read the first time; here are two abortive attempts, from which nothing followed. A similar, but not so crushing, disaster had already overtaken the Supremacy Bill; but on February 15 this was introduced in a new form, including liturgical provisoes for the restoration of the Edwardine Services. These were keenly opposed in the Lords, and eventually cast out of the bill, and many more troubles had to be gone through before the government was able finally at the end of the session to pass, without any opposition or amendments, the Elizabethan Uniformity Act; with the further history we need not concern ourselves. What were the proposals of February 15 and 16? Something unknown and abortive, but something presumably not unlike the document that lies behind Guest's letter; something, at any rate, which was more revolutionary than a return to the Edwardine Book; for the House of Commons would have none of it, but yet agreed to incorporate into the revised Supremacy Bill some clauses restoring this use. The opposition of the Marians secured the rejection of these clauses, as it had already and more speedily demolished the proposals of February, which to our thinking were the

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proposals which Guest defends; and the upshot of the whole affair was the compromise of the Uniformity Act, which took the Second Book, in its parliamentary form, *i.e.* without the Black rubric, and modified it further to suit the Marian opposition by the alteration *inter alia* of the Ornaments and the Administration.

Thus our contention is that a closer examination of the parliamentary history bears out the traditional view as against Dr. Gee's new theory; and the following statement may claim to have a strong balance of probability on its side.

There were two strong and hostile views as to the services to be reckoned with; some one, Cecil or Elizabeth, thought that they could best be reconciled by a restoration of the First Book; the Revision Committee, representing probably only one side of the question, discarded this idea, and produced a draft Service-book on more advanced lines even than the Second Book; the proposal was twice introduced into the Commons and found to have no chance of acceptance. Then came proposals for a simple restoration of the Second Book, and in more than one form these were defeated. Lastly, came the compromise of the Elizabethan Book as issued, which the government, having at last accurately gauged the temper of parliament, was able, after all, to pass without a hitch in the closing sessions.[1]

More proofs from the parliamentary speeches might be cited in support of this, the modified traditional view, *e.g.* Feckenham's speech, which Dr. Gee assigns to March, but must belong to April; but enough has been said; Dr. Gee's theory is ingenious and interesting; it is a distinct gain to have had it propounded; but it does not carry conviction, and we hold that the old view is still substantially in possession.

There follows much discussion as to the insertion of the Elizabethan Ornaments' rubric and its consequences. Dr. Gee will not, with Mr. Tomlinson, call it a 'fraud rubric,' but he

[1] Dr. Gee is surely mistaken in saying (p. 106 *n.*) that the Ornaments' proviso was added at the last moment. Neither the Journals nor the manuscript of the Act itself lend any countenance to this statement; and *compromise* is surely a more accurate description of the atmosphere in which the Act passed than *reaction*.

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thinks that the new rubric was substituted for the old by order of the Council. This seems still to be making more fuss than is necessary about a very small affair; this alteration stands simply on the same ground as the other alterations in the book which were recited in an earlier clause of the Act; and the book passed on the understanding that the earlier ornaments (whatever they were) should be used, and not the later. After this any intelligent clerk was fully competent to make the necessary alteration in the copy that was sent to the printer. Whether the clerk employed was intelligent or not may be disputed; it may be thought that in making the needful alteration for the printers the person responsible made a bungle of the *sense*, but at any rate he made a neat *verbal* combination of the beginning of the rubric of 1552, with the material part of the proviso of 1559; and we see no reason to suppose that this was done by any more authoritative person than a mere clerk.

The rest of Dr. Gee's elucidations seem to us admirable, with the exception of a certain haziness as to the authority of the Royal Injunctions, which we shall come to shortly; he has worked a new mine in dealing so fully with the Ornaments' returns and inventories, and has gained for us much more evidence on a very obscure point. Whatever may be thought of his contention as to Guest's letter, at all events the rest of the book abounds in information and fresh light.

We return now to Dr. Dixon and the beginning of 1559. In his account of the coronation he takes no account of the English description of the scene which is printed in Nichols' *Progresses*, and thus entrusts himself too unreservedly to the Venetian account, which is a little misleading. The reconciliation of these two is, however, full of difficulty, and it seems as though the Venetian was right where the Englishman was wrong, viz. as to the celebrant; and *vice versa*. But the coronation certainly preceded the mass, whether a bishop celebrated or not, according to the custom of the day in England.

With regard to Elizabeth's first parliament, the reader must turn from Dr. Dixon to Dr. Gee for the fullest and best

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guidance. The latter deals with it in each of his books, and brings light and sense out of the brief records of the Journals and D'Ewes. He distinguishes rightly the first Supremacy Bill, which was passed, but did not get the royal approval, because of the obnoxious title of 'Supreme Head,' from the second, which with its altered title obtained the royal assent and became law. He sees also the bearing of the Westminster Disputation about the rites, held during the Easter recess, upon the progress of legislation. This Dr. Dixon makes less clear, though he gives a vivid and illuminative description of it, and focusses well the various points of light upon it.

In dealing with the Marian Bishops neither of our doctors takes account of the see of Sodor and Man. The history of events there is no doubt obscure, and not perhaps very important, but there seems clear reason to believe that the Marian Bishop, sworn or unsworn, remained in possession. The question of the changes in the clergy as a whole is exhaustively treated by Dr. Gee, and the deprivation of clergy shown to have taken place on only a very small scale. Had Dr. Gee done nothing else but establish this long-debated point, he would have done much to earn our substantial gratitude.

For the first time a clear account is given by our doctors of the events of the summer of 1559, of the Royal Visitation, and the links which bound it to, but distinguished it from, the permanent Ecclesiastical Commission. This was all well set out in Dr. Gee's former volume, and with him Dr. Dixon is in substantial agreement. But there is still room for a more accurate estimate of the degree of authority which these proceedings possessed. Were the images and vestments burnt, as images and vestments merely, or as ornaments that had been abused to superstitious uses? This is a crucial question, and neither writer seems quite satisfactory on the subject, because neither seems quite to have faced the exact question. When once put the answer is clear. In some places the Ornaments were destroyed because the people were pleased to regard them as superstitious, and in other places they were preserved because the people regarded them otherwise. That

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is, the visitors did not and could not destroy either, except on the ground of misuse. This conclusion has its importance.

Again, there is the difficult question of the authority of the Royal Injunctions. Dr. Dixon distinguishes better than Dr. Gee between the Injunctions proper and the two appended Orders about the demolition of altars and about wafer bread. These were no doubt 'a taking of further order,' which had therefore the authority of the Act of Uniformity behind it; but this description does not apply to the Injunctions as a whole: they had only the authority of the Visitation and whatever subsequent authority (and it was considerable) ecclesiastical rulers might choose to continue to them. But Dixon is surely wrong in thinking that this was the only example of the queen's use of her statutory power; a much clearer and more effective instance is the *New Kalendar* of 1561.

In dealing with the consecration of Parker he is, however, at his best. The summary which he gives of the controversy of Anglican Orders, so far as it relates to this period, is masterly, and he has almost managed to make the sordid story of misrepresentations repeated and repeated, interesting to the reader. It is a great opening for the caustic gift of insight and expression which he so eminently possessed, and there are phrases at intervals which are haunting. Yet there is one point to which a slight exception must be suggested: the celebrated *supplentes* clause in the writ for Parker's consecration, supplying by royal authority any possible deficiency in the commissioners, must really refer to the fact that two at most of them were in possession of sees; and Bale's hold upon Ossory, by the way, was even less now than it had been at the troublous beginning of his 'Vocation to the see.' Dixon, like others before him, ascribes the existence of the clause to the misgivings, which undoubtedly were felt, as to the position of the Ordinal; but these became important only when Bonner took up the cudgels in 1563, and though the doubt was there in the mind of the cautious Cecil and emerged in the next parliament, the *supplentes* clause shows no trace of it.

This is clear for many reasons. In rebutting Bonner the

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clause does not appear to have been cited; and this is an incredible omission, if the object of the clause was to make up for the defects in the legal position of the Ordinal, for that was Bonner's main ground of attack. Again, the clause expressly mentions and at length the *conditio, status et facultas* of the commissioners among the possibly doubtful points which otherwise are only vague: and, more cogent than all, the clause was inserted only in the writ for Parker's confirmation and consecration, not in subsequent writs; and with good reason; for having secured a lawful Metropolitan, there was no need for anyone to doubt about future consecrations; there was no deficiency any more to supply; if the legal position of the Ordinal had been the weak point, the clause must have been continued until the legal difficulty was overcome in 1568, as indeed Strype, consistently with his theory, but wrongly, imagined to have been the case. Other doubts there were in contemplation, which were unspecified: what they might be thought to be would depend upon the views of each individual; the further doubt that was most widely felt was unquestionably the absence of papal authority; and Elizabeth was acting just as might have been expected by tacitly supplying the want of that by her own royal prerogative.

The other phases of the Romanist controversy are also dealt with at some length, particularly the attack of Jerome Osorio, in his *Letter* to the queen, and Haddon's *Reply* to the same. The later stages of this campaign are more briefly traced, and also the many streams of controversy that flowed from Jewel, both his *Challenge* and his *Apology*, are dealt with more summarily. Pilkington's brush with the enemy, arising out of the burning of St. Paul's, is also well described. But there was room for an interesting comparison of methods in the combatants on either side. Some of the contrasts are most marked. Thus Jewel is always the scholar, while Pilkington, though undoubtedly learned, is far more bluff, graphic, and abusive; just as, on the other side, Harding is painstaking and dull, while Rastell is sarcastic and satirical.

We could wish for a more thorough account of the great Convocation of 1563. Dr. Dixon's treatment of it seems

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unequal; the question of the Articles is fully and well set out, but the other great topics fare worse, and in particular the interesting series of extant papers, dealing with the reform of the Prayer-book and of Discipline, is superficially and, in some cases, erroneously described. Two of these were drawn up in preparation for the sessions; the earlier of the two is the set of twelve 'Articles in Substance'[1] worked over by both Parker and Grindal, which speaks of Nowell's Catechism as 'well nigh finished'; it is therefore earlier in date than the fuller series of 'General Notes of Matters to be moved by the clergy in the next parliament and synod,'[2] which was also worked over by Parker, and which forecasts the work to be attempted in a much fuller and more methodical manner, for this speaks of Nowell's work as finished. Next in order come the papers submitted by the Bishops, two emanating from Sandys and one from Alley.[3] From the Lower House there come two petitions: the earlier one is the set of 'Requests' signed by sixty-four members while yet the revision of the Articles was a vague project, *i.e.* evidently about January 20;[4] the other one deals with a particular objection to one of the Edwardine Articles, and therefore belongs to a later stage: it is the Petition of the thirty-three,[5] and it must be dated between January 20 and January 29, the date when the Articles were settled and signed in the Upper House. The former of these Dr. Dixon seems to identify with the *Book of Discipline*, which emanated from the Lower House at the end of February, but this is impossible; and it seems sadly to be feared that the *Book of Discipline* is not now extant.

Meanwhile there had been the grand tussle about the Prayer-book in the Lower House on February 13, in which the Puritan revolutionary proposals were defeated by one vote.

One more document of special importance remains, and this, too, has only a vague and hazy treatment: it is the set of 'Articles for government and order in the Church exhibited

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i. 350.
[2] *Ibid.* i. 317.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 335, 339, 348.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 340.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 335.

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to be admitted by authority but not allowed;'[1] such is the heading which Parker added to it when he inserted it among his papers, but it seems rather to contradict than to suggest the suggestion which Dixon makes, following a marginal note of Strype, that it emanated from the Archbishop himself. It consists mainly of brief headings, and is evidently very closely connected with 'General Notes of Matters,' which had been prepared beforehand; no doubt also the *Book of Discipline* was in some sort of relation to these two sets of proposals; it is a little tempting actually to identify it with the latter, but prudence suggests reserve on the matter.

The inner history of the Convocation only begins to become intelligible as these papers are set in their right order. Dr. Dixon's account is meagre, and in places somewhat inconsistent; he seems to have put all his best energies into giving his full and excellent account of the Articles, and to have deferred to work out or revise the rest.

The opening chapters of the second of these two volumes show no sign of any lack of the *limæ labor*. Indeed, in some ways the handling of the Vestiarian controversy shows Dr. Dixon at his best. The history of the Advertisements is most carefully traced; both our Doctors take the same line about them, which is not that of the famous Privy Council Judgments; and no one reading either account with a historical judgment can doubt that they are right. Dixon makes a great point of the hard treatment which Parker met with in this affair, being egged on by the queen to enforce uniformity and to draw up his advertisements, and then denied the royal support and authority, which he sought to carry him through his unpopular and difficult task. But there is another side to this. Elizabeth had a truer view than her bishops of the nature of episcopal government. She could no doubt on occasion rate and bully them, and show them scant respect, and she was glad at all opportunities to plunder them; but she expected them to govern their dioceses themselves. They were timid and wished to lean upon her: she knew, rightly so far, that her first duty was to see that they did their business with their own authority; beyond that she

[1] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. Appendix 91.

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was willing to support their authority when it was challenged, though she held back from backing it in the first instance. When Parker trembling took the step of depriving the Nonconformist clergy, he in fact needed no open royal support: he acted on his episcopal authority, and his action carried the day. The Queen was perfectly right in leaving the bishops to fight their own battles unhelped and unhindered. On the other hand, when parliament began to question these and such like acts of a timid bench of bishops, or began to kick more lustily under the rougher handling of Whitgift, the queen kept the Commons strictly in their place, and made them feel that such matters were the business, not of parliament, but of Convocation and the Crown: that, in fact, her personal supremacy was behind the bishops, and that she was prepared to encourage them to use the powers belonging to their office as rulers of the Church without hindrance from parliament. No doubt there were in all this policy some false elements which quickly and alarmingly multiplied and developed under a Stuart rule and produced a harvest of disaster; but there was also much that was good, and showed a real discrimination as to the borderland policy of civil and ecclesiastical government; and if that frontier was not entirely scientifically defined by Elizabeth, it was a defect which she shared with most other great rulers, not to mention lesser ones, who have had practical handling of the problem.

In the closing part of the sixth volume we begin to notice the want of the final work of the writer; what is done remains admirable to the end, and, as ever, the pages teem with good things, fresh documents, new lights, shrewd judgments, and luminous descriptions; but there are gaps. All through some suggestions might be made as to further points of value, and now and again the reconsideration of statements or phrases, such as Dr. Dixon has evidently profited by in volume V., would have been advantageous at the end of volume VI. But his work was done, and a fine piece of work it is. The highly individual style of the writer is of that special sort which makes foes as well as friends; but, whether the reader likes it or not, he cannot deny that Dr. Dixon had a style, and that this possession and the literary

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distinction that goes with it are hereby proved not to be so incompatible with the exactness of modern historical scholarship as we are sometimes told is the case. Again, the details of his historical judgment will no doubt sometimes provoke criticism. He is too optimistic about the Elizabethan Church, one may think, or too anxious to justify the clergy at the expense of the laity; but of the general evenness and fairness of his mind there can be no question.

That he was spared to carry his work down to 1570 cannot but be regarded as a real blessing for the English Church. His volumes ought to be read and re-read, and not re-read only, but reprinted in better form. What we should most desire for them is such a reception as will encourage the Clarendon Press to reissue the whole work, edited carefully and annotated by Dr. Gee, with a comprehensive index covering all the volumes. Hitherto the *History* has not had the general popularity that it deserves, and has been out of the reach of many who ought to be most familiar with it. As it now stands completed, it represents what is probably the last and best word that will be said on the subject for many a day.

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ART. VI.—SOME ASPECTS OF THE MODERN NOVEL.

1. *Audrey.* By MARY JOHNSTON, Author of *By Order of the Company* and *The Old Dominion.* (London: Constable and Co., 1902.)
2. *The Lady Paramount.* By HENRY HARLAND, Author of *The Cardinal's Snuff-Box.* (London: John Lane, 1902.)
3. *The Hound of the Baskervilles. Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes.* By A. CONAN DOYLE, Author of *Micah Clarke*, &c. (London: George Newnes, 1902.)
4. *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush.* By IAN MACLAREN, with eight illustrations from etchings by WILLIAM HOLE, R.S.A. Thirteenth edition, completing the ninetieth thousand. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)
5. *A Window in Thrums.* By J. M. BARRIE, with twelve illustrations from etchings by WILLIAM HOLE, R.S.A. Eighteenth edition. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)
6. *Colloquies of Criticism; or, Literature and Democratic Patronage.* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1901.)
7. *William Black, Novelist.* A biography by WEMYSS REID, Author of *Life of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster* and *Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton.* (London: Cassell and Co. and Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1902.)

A GREAT and portentous change is passing over the character and spirit of English literature. The startling development of our social civilization, which has advanced with an increasing rate of progression during the last half-century, has nowhere produced more significant results than in the field of letters. Old lines of demarcation, which severed the sphere of the novel from adjacent realms of authorship, are being rapidly obliterated, and an army of novelists invades territories hitherto held the special province of the scientist, the moral philosopher, the historian, and even the theologian. Works of fiction, treating of every conceivable subject, flood the

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book market, and the stream swells yearly in volume and rapidity. The ubiquity of fiction is manifest in every direction—in the new publishing houses which have sprung into the front rank through the almost exclusive publication of books of this class, and in their intrusion into hitherto unwonted prominence in the advertising columns of those long-standing and stately firms which we have been accustomed to associate only with the issue of works of serious and standard value. Statesmen do not disdain to employ the leisure which the Front Opposition bench affords in criticism or appreciation of outstanding romances; and purple patches, culled from them, though not always openly acknowledged, find their place in pulpit utterances. The novel in varied guise, as short or serial story, forms the staple of the more popular magazines, and elaborate discussions of the foremost writers of fiction and their works are interspersed amongst articles on the deepest problems—political, economical, and social—in the highest-class reviews. Even the newspaper press—the proud aristocrat of contemporary democratic civilization—pays its court to fiction, and relies upon its aid to promote and sustain its weekly circulation. Among all classes, rich and poor, learned and simple, in these days of universal rudimentary education the novel sweeps the field.

Let anyone take up at random the notices of novels for a single month—say in the *Times* Literary Supplement—and he will gain some conception of the variety and extent of topics embraced in the modern novel. Here is such an illustration gathered from very recent numbers. The writers range from Venice to the Pampas, from the Essex coast to the gum country of New Zealand, from wild Welsh mountains to cosy riverside villas on the Thames, from Finland to the United States of North America, from the dwellers in New Grub Street to the Teutonic Knights of the Cross in the Polish Marches. The characters delineated and the incidents portrayed are as widely diversified as the scenes on which they are made to play their parts. We know nothing to which we can compare the industry of modern novelists in their search after fresh materials to work upon, save the indefatigable enthusiasm with which the scientific

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naturalist ransacks the remotest corners of unknown and virgin regions in quest of a fresh orchid or some uncatalogued lepidoptera. It might have been supposed that all available material was long since exhausted ; but whilst real genius will always prove 'the old, old story' to be worth retelling, modern ingenuity finds topics for imaginative handling in the most unpromising directions—in the Zionist Movement, for example, in the *fin de siècle* company promoter, in the Tammany ring, in the wild ravings of a half-insane gum-digger, in the dissection and display of the innermost heart of a solitary Spanish priest 'unhinged by vain passion and wandering amongst the dying gods of a dead civilization.' The area over which the modern novelist roams is illimitable, and it will take ages before he will have to sit down and weep that no more worlds are left for him to conquer.

The future student of our time will mark with curious interest this singular feature of our literary development. The modern novel is not only ubiquitous, it is omnivorous, and apparently exhausts the literary productiveness of the day. An age of unexampled intellectual activity, as witnessed in the unceasing issue of new books, is for the moment barren of sterling literature. Since Tennyson and Browning we have no great poet ; since Gardiner, Creighton, and Stubbs no great historian. Outstanding books on theology or moral philosophy, or, since Darwin and Tyndal and Huxley have gone from us, even on the physical science which is the boast of our era, are conspicuous by their absence. Ours is an epoch of criticism and commentaries, of minor poems and *vers de société*, of associated essays and tentative suggestions, of popular handbooks and co-operative dictionaries, of specialist periodicals, of dainty editions and aesthetic picture-books. The one section of contemporary authorship which manifests originality and vitality, and which commands and satisfies the public ear, to the exclusion of more solid thought and to the serious detriment (in many of its forms) of the national character, is the modern novel. Is this a sign of growing declension, of a civilization on the verge of decay; or is it only a passing phase, to be succeeded by a more robust and vigorous outgrowth? We would fain believe

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the latter, although we confess to serious misgivings. In any case the existing state of things deserves careful study.

For the influence of the modern novel is not merely to be measured by the width of the area it occupies, but also by the enormous crops which are raised in its varied and fertile fields. We have no trustworthy statistics of the total circulation of works of fiction in this country to set before our readers, but it is certain that millions of copies in the aggregate are issued annually of the more popular stories, and the gross total must reach a stupendous figure. The gradual broadening-down of the consumption may be traced in the universal abandonment of the old three volumes, published at the aristocratic price of a guinea and a half, to the prevailing middle-class issue at six shillings, and thence, again, to the teeming millions at the cost of sixpence or even less. Yet at these prices the supply hardly equals the demand. Cheap editions, which can be remunerative only when put forth in large numbers, are speedily exhausted. Hundreds of thousands at the higher price are called for as soon as any book becomes famous or infamous amongst a public whose first desire is for stimulating pabulum. A good hit means at least a satisfactory balance at the writer's bankers—not seldom, a substantial fortune.

We are naturally curious to know how this enormous mass of fiction is absorbed. The majority of the 'upper ten' and the great body of educated people do not purchase their novels, but are content to have them through subscriptions to Smith's or Mudie's or some provincial circulating library. How, then, are we to account for the scores and hundreds of thousands of copies in which the works of the most popular novelists teem from the press? The answer is supplied in *Colloquies of Criticism*. The gigantic supply corresponds to a demand made by a vast middle-class, the inmates of the countless villas recently built on the outskirts of every town in England and the creation of the last thirty-five years. According to this writer's computation, 'the upper fifty thousand, if one may call them so, are, as related to this novel-reading public as a whole, in a proportion of not more than one to forty-four' (p. 11), whilst behind these again

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there is another section of society in fairly comfortable circumstances which in this country numbers more than six hundred thousand. This sudden apparition of a new class of readers has completely upset the balance of criticism which prevailed a generation ago, and the reading world of that day forms hardly a hundredth part of the public by whom the fate of the modern novel is decided. This is a fact of the most profound significance in determining the character and influence of contemporary fiction.

For, with the change of audience, a corresponding change has passed over the spirit and tone of the piece presented for its approval. The new public has neither the homogeneity of social sympathy nor the unity of social vision which are marked characteristics of those whom it has largely superseded. Whilst life among the latter class has, beneath all superficial differences, a substantial uniformity, and whilst social intercourse amongst its members is regulated by the thousand impalpable conventionalities begotten of generations of high-breeding and the *nuances* of expression and manner which it instinctively yet rigorously exacts, the new public has no like common bond of union, no such common standpoint of judgment, no similar universal standard of propriety and manners. For this new public the novel, the author of the *Colloquies of Criticism* insists, supplies that unity of vision which their predecessors unconsciously acquire in the ordinary intercourse of daily life. It consequently takes its novels far more seriously and values them more highly; but it demands, on the other hand, that a work, to be really popular, should be written from its own social standpoint.

This fact suggests the further thought that the modern novel is liable to a disadvantage to which fiction in earlier days was not exposed. Paradoxical as it may seem, one of the deadliest injuries to works of imagination arises from their unparalleled commercial success. The immense sums netted by popular novelists naturally have a tendency to divert the attention of writers from devotion to what is highest to that which will secure the largest pecuniary profit. It has been forcibly said that 'when literature has been degraded to the purpose of amusing the public, and when

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mental endowment and words of the highest meaning have been profaned by men ignorant of the significance even of their own powers, there flows forth a stream of intellectual life through society cut off from its true fountain and diverted from its proper object.' With the prevailing adoration of wealth and its accompanying universal indulgence in lavish expenditure, the temptation to prostitute literary talent to the production of work that will command the widest sale is almost overpowering. The modern novelist is exceptionally exposed to this temptation, as his lot is cast in days 'when the intellect is vexed with the spur of competition, and the inspiration of heaven is bargained away in the dearest market.'

A further and disastrous development of modern fiction presents itself in the problem novel, a class of work of recent origin which exercises a specially baneful influence. Amongst the questions which modern learning, scientific discovery, and the conditions of our complicated social organization have opened, there are many which demand scrupulously accurate statement, special knowledge, severe self-restraint, and delicate handling. To fail in any of these qualities is to render their discussion at once worthless and injurious; to be absolutely silent about some of them, in works of imagination, whose end is joy and beauty, is the only seemly choice. Yet it is just those problems which are best left shrouded under cover of work designed for serious and professional study that are now dragged into the full light of discussion *coram populo*. The enigmas and perplexities of life, the relations between the sexes, the difficulties suggested by the modern doctrine of heredity, the religious misgivings of a highly critical age, are all dissected with unblushing audacity and dogmatic self-assurance. The assumption of infallibility by the modern novelist is consummate, and would be supremely ridiculous if it were not lamentably mischievous. The writer of the religious novel of our day calmly sets to work to destroy the Catholic faith which has withstood the assaults of nineteen centuries, and presents to his readers in its stead a brand-new creed of his own creation. As we read the airy self-conceits with which modern

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writers of fiction resolve all problems after their own fashion, we are continually protesting, 'None of us is infallible, not even the youngest of us.' We must be pardoned for adding that the gentler sex are the most audacious of the offenders. Women rush in where angels fear to tread.

The popularity of these stories, saturated with sham philosophy and pretentious irreligiousness, may be traced to the same cause which has led to the deterioration of the romance pure and simple. Just as the new half-educated public only appreciates stories of modern life which are written from its own standpoint of social sympathy, but devours these with avidity to gain acquaintance with life beyond its own narrow circle, so also it is only interested in the discussion of man's relation to God, to his fellow-men, and to his own desires when they are debated on the level of its own intellectual platform, and therefore it betakes itself eagerly to problem novels of its own mental standard in the hope of learning through them the trend of popular philosophy and the opinions on social and religious questions which, as we say, are in the air. It is a consequence of the influence of this heterogeneous middle class (as the *Colloquies of Criticism* reminds us) that modern literature loses one of its chief charms, viz. that grace, dignity, 'polish and reticence which it was formerly obliged to cultivate.' An uncritical public accepts without misgiving the dogmatism of its self-appointed guides, is not shocked by rapid transitions from the temple to the music-hall, and adopts its philosophy of life from the principles inculcated in its problem novels.

Now, to 'be free to understand and to enjoy' (it has been said) 'is the claim of the modern spirit,' and this claim is asserted in the modern novel in terms of the most startling distinctness. Freedom is claimed from all the restraints which religion would put upon it—first by undermining the authority of Christianity, and sweeping the supernatural aside as incredible and impossible in the light of modern scientific teaching, and then by representing man as the slave of blind law, which so works as to bind him in the indissoluble fetters of necessity. Thus we are free from moral restraint through the negation of our free-will and the contemptuous

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rejection of 'the perfect law of liberty.' The claim to understand is extended to all life's mysteries and all Nature's secrets, and no restraint is placed on the open photography of passion. It is as though science had invaded the realm of sentiment, and subjected emotion and motive to the action of the resolvent and the scalpel. It is a delusion to suppose that in any circumstances ignorance is bliss, and the prurient curiosity of the fleshly mind is only a legitimate thirst which should always be indulged and satisfied. Nor is it an unworthy climax to this popular philosophy that enjoyment is the chief end and purpose of life—refined enjoyment for some, under a coarser disguise for others. In this present miserable world let those who will indulge in dreams of immortal felicity. We may perhaps admire their self-denying efforts to reach it, or we may pity their blindness in still believing in it; but for ourselves all these bright hopes have vanished like morning clouds before the rising sun. The practical result is seen in stories which portray characters that are utterly invertebrate. Strength of will is dissolved in hysterical emotion. Self-abandonment is at once man's fate and his highest wisdom. 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'

There is, we repeat, a very large class of readers whose literary education at the most momentous period of their lives is entirely derived from novels, and this fact increases the responsibility of novelists to an incalculable degree. Yet this responsibility is rarely felt and acted upon even in quarters in which we might have looked for better things. Only recently we met with a story translated from the Russian by a Fellow of an Oxford College, and introduced by a laudatory preface which dwelt upon the merits of the writer and his work. The distinguishing features of the book were a realism which did not shrink from the portrayal of details neither necessary for the plot nor artistically suitable, and a ludicrous inaccuracy in describing historic persons and events. Yet the uneducated reader would naturally regard a volume issued under such auspices as a trustworthy record, nor, we are afraid, would this confidence be shaken on reading in the introductory pages that the author held

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both the Hedonist and the Christian creeds. We wonder how many who read this glaring absurdity were revolted at its transparent self-contradictiveness. What a marvellous solution of the problem how to make the best of both worlds! The same man at once a Stoic and an Epicurean, a Nominalist and a Realist, a believer in materialism and in transcendentalism, a follower of the gospel of self-indulgence and of that of self-denial! What a priceless guide for pleasure-hunting, worldly-minded Christians! Yet such an instance is far from exceptional. Books circulated by tens of thousands inculcate as low-toned a morality and cast a scorn no less ignorant and baseless upon Christian truth.

It is mournful to reflect in this connection what serious moral mischief has been wrought by many female novelists. Women are in many respects exceptionally gifted for novel-writing. Their powers of rapid intuition, their penetrating insight into character, their skill in delicate analysis of motive, their innate recognition of the finer and more subtle shades of feeling, their capacity for sympathy and tenderness, even the superior sensitiveness and suspicion which are part of their peculiar armour in the battle of life, and more than all their imaginative powers—in many cases so ethereal, fertile, and refined—all mark out the gentler sex as likely to be pre-eminently successful in this domain of literature. The very limitations which perhaps have excluded them from the lofty heights of tragedy are advantageous in the cultivation of the lower, yet fascinating, valleys of romance. No wonder that a whole army of authoresses marches in daily increasing numbers to seize upon a territory to which they possess so rightful a claim. Time was when to the exercise of the gifts and graces already mentioned, there was due, at least to the majority of English female novelists, the yet higher praise of having raised the prevailing tone of fiction by works which 'did not contain a single line inconsistent with rigid morality or even with virgin delicacy.' So Macaulay bore testimony to Madame D'Arblay and the accomplished women writers of sixty years agone. Could the same unqualified homage be truthfully paid to the entire work of English women now?

The answer must be an emphatic and sorrowful negative.

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The deterioration from the lofty tone which commanded Macaulay's admiration has gradually deepened since his day until some female novelists stand in the foremost rank of offenders against decency and purity of thought. So rapid has been the decline that authoresses only recently notorious for what are now termed *risky* stories—the epithet is one of those newly-coined euphemisms with which our age palliates well-earned and stern reprobation—are already distanced, and their books, once in wide demand, are no longer asked for, because they do not satisfy the jaded appetite for more highly-seasoned dishes. A cultivated taste for the abnormal on the part of reader and writer alike is apt to sicken at ordinary fare, and at the present rate of downward progress it is hard to say to what depth of licence the modern novelist will descend.

We ask those who may be tempted to consider our criticism exaggerated, and who have such acquaintance with the modern novel as entitles them to give a valid judgment, to recall the character of some of the most widely circulated works of fiction during the last few years. We purposely abstain from mentioning names. In one prominent instance it is only too easy to trace a gradual but continuous moral descent in the works of a writer once of the highest promise, due to the selection of abnormal topics for minute and curious handling. When a writer of fiction has once decided that sinners are more interesting than saints, and that sin in some of its most repulsive forms is suitable matter for artistic treatment, the door is already open for almost endless mischief. The more minutely observant such a writer is, and the more vividly she conceives the image she pictures in her story, the greater the danger will be of her dilating on details which refinement and delicacy peremptorily reject. It is only through the injurious influence exerted by the selection of types of character and circumstance in themselves exceptional, repulsive, and bizarre that we can account for the mournful issue of a book of which a friendly critic writes, 'there are pages in it which, if read at all, can only be read through the eyelashes. They hurt like the sudden view of a street accident; they are as intolerable as the sight of a surgical operation.' And this is the quality of a romance

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which probably commanded the widest circulation, and secured the largest class of educated readers in the first year of this twentieth century of the Christian era.

A variety of causes has combined to effect this deplorable change in the character of the work of female novelists and in the too general tolerance of stories that should be universally and indignantly tabooed. Foremost amongst them is the modern scientific spirit, with its tendency to microscopic analysis and minute dissection, which begets a certain morbid taste for the investigation of the workings of passion, and so ventures upon hazardous ground that can only be trodden with cautious steps. In the next place there has been the terrible and baneful influence of the school of animalism under the guidance of such leaders as Ibsen and Zola. When the veil is torn away which the modesty of our predecessors drew over the secrets of Nature and the sores of sickness it is only the eyes of angels that can look on without contracting moral taint. A third and potent element is what we may term the recent literary enfranchisement of women, which has led to their intrusion into that purely modern domain of fiction—the problem novel. The subjects selected by some authors of this school recall Browning's stinging lines:

> Then, there's the other picker-out of pearls
> From dung-heaps—ay, your literary man
> Who draws on his kid gloves to deal with Sludge
> Daintily and discreetly—shakes a dust
> O' the doctrine, flavours thence, he well knows how
> The narrative or the novel—half believes
> All for the book's sake, and the public stare,
> And the cash that's God's sole solid in this world.

Yet while these causes in some degree explain, they can in no degree extenuate, the choice of questionable themes by women. Out of the infinite mass of materials at hand it is only a diseased imagination that will pick the anomalous and the abnormal. If, as Schiller insists, the end of all art, even that of the most poignant tragedy, is joy, the work of many contemporary writers is as gross a violation of the rules of

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art as it is of the canons of refinement, decency, and high moral feeling.

Nor is it to be thought that the injury done by objectionable novels affects only a select class of society, and that their discussion of religious or recondite questions influences or amuses only the inner circle of the initiated. The mischief penetrates into the most unsuspected quarters, creeps through the fences with which love tries to hedge round the young, promotes a taste which rapidly calls for further stimulant. Young girls devour books tending to shake their Christian faith and to sully their moral purity. Not long since *Robert Elsmere* was the book chiefly in request in one of the greatest English centres of female education. It is the testimony of a librarian of forty years' standing in a town largely inhabited and resorted to by the cream of the upper English middle class that there has been for some years past a continuous decline in the moral character of the novels most largely in demand. Stories which a generation ago were looked at askance as being risky and questionable are now entirely neglected in favour of more outspoken impropriety. So widespread is the mischief that objectionable tales even find entrance into school libraries, and schoolmasters have felt constrained to issue a public protest against the stamp of books they find placed in the hands of mere boys. It is hard to say whether the life represented in many cases with its minute and repulsive realism is more injurious to the untrained reader than the false sentimentalism and sham religiousness with which this class of fiction is commonly interlarded. External reality and internal falsity—both equally detestable—make up work which is not infrequently diabolically clever. 'I tell you all this because I don't believe it' is the hypocritical apology of the scandal-monger. 'I describe the prurient details of a sinful career that you may see how wrong it is, and learn to avoid it,' is the half-suggested apology of the modern writer. And when elaborate discussion of such questions as had certainly much better not be spoken of are intermingled with pretentious disquisitions on Wagner and Beethoven and Bach, so that the coarse topics seem as fitting for ordinary treatment as the refined ones, it is too late to enter

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upon the less attractive scenes of sorrow and remorse. The mischief has been already done. The glamour of substantial prosperity in the earlier chapters, where escape from the worrying discontent of a mean and narrow life is found through yielding to temptation, and where all that the young prize highly—wealth, fame, social distinction—are lavished upon the unrepentant Magdalen—has worked its baneful influence, which the closing scenes too often fail altogether to counter-balance. A taint and stain have been burnt into the mind, in the perusal of the heroine's temptations and falls, which her subsequent repentance fails to obliterate.

There is another class of modern novels, against which we would utter our most emphatic protest, in which the most sacred subjects and scenes are introduced merely to produce startling effects, and the arcana of the Holy of Holies are opened to the vulgar gaze as a sensational *mise-en-scène*. Instances of such prostitution of religious things will occur to all who have a wide acquaintance with the modern novel, and are too notorious to need any protracted illustration. In a widely circulated Hungarian novel, which in the English translation was allowed admittance to English drawing-rooms, to the unbounded astonishment of our French neighbours, scenes of Christian worship are presented in the closest proximity with a picture of the Court of Nero, described with a fidelity of detail quite unnecessary. The natural repulsiveness of the animalism and realism in which some modern novelists indulge is rendered a hundredfold more hideous when thus brought into juxtaposition with what commands our deepest reverence and adoring admiration. In another story a mother's love in all its ineffable purity and tenderness is painted in the most delicate tints, which are thrown into high relief by dark shadows of the seductive lasciviousness of an accomplished courtesan. In a third the sudarium of a public bath in a Roman provincial town is realistically described just as the reader is fresh from learning how the power of child-like faith triumphantly sustains a young girl under the manifold temptations of a heathen home. Such perversion of things sacred to sordid purposes is unutterably shocking, yet it apparently passes without rebuke, or is justified on the plea

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that such things exist. Of course they do, and so do boudoirs and pigsties; but we do not place them side by side, so as to step directly from one to the other.

The native stream of impure literature, in itself of sufficient and unsavoury volume, is perpetually swollen by the importation and translation of foreign books. It is difficult to understand on what principle the selection of foreign novels for reproduction here is made, unless it be a willingness to pander to the most diseased palates. In many instances the most objectionable in subject and treatment of a foreigner's books is chosen for presentation in an English dress. We could name French writers who are finished stylists, and some of whose works are quite unexceptionable; but these are passed over in favour of tales which have with difficulty obtained the licence for circulation in their own country. In such cases all the elegances of style—their sole redeeming feature—are lost in the process of translation; the grossness alone remains.

A further disfigurement of the modern novel is the gratuitous and offensive profanity in which many popular writers indulge. Quite recently the *Times* justly complained of the prevalent habit of using words from Holy Scripture as titles to works of fiction, but even this is a venial fault in comparison with the unblushing irreverence of a large class, including many female novelists.

We have before us the cheap edition of two stories by a lady who writes under a well-known *nom de plume*, and whose works are welcomed with a chorus of almost unqualified praise. The hero of the first describes to his friend the place where he is staying—'a village with a church, a public-house, and a Dissenting chapel—*one evil brings another*; and the rustic maid abounds, a creature of large feet, wide smiles, and limited innocence.' He asks his landlady, whose industry excites his scorn, 'if she did not think that the five wise may have lived to envy the five foolish virgins. She looked at me—as only a woman can look—and mournfully winked.' The kitchen garden is depicted as 'a modern Eden with a dash of the commonplace, and a clothes-line extended from the Tree of Know-

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ledge to the Tree of Life.' And an invitation to dinner calls forth the ejaculation, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' It is quite consistent with such a spirit of irreverence—for these examples of it we sincerely apologize to our readers—that a young Oxford man, well born and of some high instincts, should interlard his proposal to a very beautiful girl with plenty of oaths, and that marriage should be represented as almost invariably a mistake, and its victims as waking too late from their delusion and chafing helplessly against their chains. The companion story—a rapid and clever sketch of a house party in the country, composed mainly of disagreeable and vacillating people who change their minds and loves with the most singular facility—is sandwiched between a prologue whose purpose is apparently to hold religion up to odium, and a brief lyric epilogue full of religious sentiment, neither prologue nor epilogue having any bearing on the story. The action (as we are told on the title-page) takes place in the course of twenty-four hours, and the authoress deems it appropriate to add to this announcement, 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.' We shrink from all conjecture of the purpose designed in this strange juxtaposition. It is typical of a tone and spirit which mistake flippant irreverence in quotation for wit, and which outrage the Christian sentiment, 'My heart standeth in awe of Thy Word.'

What shall we say of the ordinary type of religious novel in its too common perversion to become the vehicle of misrepresentation, malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness? How commonplace and faded are its leading types—the High, the Low, the Broad Church, the Romanist, the Dissenting, the sceptical! We are weary of the lay figures dressed up in conventional costume—the Jesuit in disguise, the milksop of a curate, the Dissenting preacher with a soul above his sordid surroundings, the odious Anglican painted by Romanists as a pendant to equally detestable and unveracious portraiture of the Popish priest as conceived by ultra-Protestant authors. It is almost inconceivable that anyone should all unconsciously 'give himself away,' as do many novelists of this class of fiction. With what sublime inno-

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cence they write themselves down as transparently spiteful, hopelessly ignorant, and inveterately vulgar! Yet their caricatures are unquestionably accepted by scores of readers as truthful portraits, and they are not seldom commended in quarters where we might expect to find sounder judgment and more trustworthy guidance. It is not long since a leading Church newspaper spoke in terms of almost unqualified praise of a story which grossly misrepresented the English Church and clergy. It did indeed put one saving clause in its elaborate eulogy, but so faint and brief as only to heighten its approval. The mischief wrought by the ignorant misstatements of religious novels is incalculable. The reaction consequent upon the exposure of their misrepresentations is at the root of many a perversion to infidelity or to Rome.

It is the bane of controversial novels, and takes away all real merit, alike as contributions to thought or as artistic works, that the side to which victory shall incline is already so predetermined in the writer's mind that the whole story is written with the purpose of reaching a foregone conclusion. In unscrupulous hands this necessity begets an untruthful delineation of incidents and character, both of which are distorted to suit the purpose in view. It may, indeed, be said, only too truly, that all controversy is liable to one-sided and partizan presentation; but the peculiar danger of controversy in fiction arises from the difficulty of detecting and exposing falsehood disguised in the garb of a story. The reader, in most cases unskilled in legitimate methods of discussion, is first beguiled and thrown off his guard by the interest of the narrative, then his sympathy is secured, and finally, it may be, his convictions gained on behalf of that which he would have rejected if presented in a less alluring and deceptive shape. When to the art thus employed there is added the seductiveness of novelty, the crafty innuendo against religious belief and the widespread delusion that to call in question the faith 'once for all delivered' is the mark of a superior and emancipated mind —these causes in combination may work with deadly effect upon those who are as lamentably ignorant of definite dogmatic Christianity as are but too many who pass through our

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secondary and higher-class schools. Can we wonder at the mischief, the unsettlement and practical infidelity which a pernicious section of novels works among this half-educated mass—mischief not so much of avowed unbelief as of the laxity which is bred by the dissemination of half-uttered doubt. As long as a man has a religious difficulty he has an excuse whose practical fruit may be seen in the growing neglect of public worship, in disregard of the sanctity of Sunday, and in the adoption of every form of self-indulgence, which are assuming the dimensions of a national disaster.

Yet how valuable this branch of romance may be, if treated with knowledge, dignity, and reserve, has been shown in a thousand instances—from the *Pilgrim's Progress* to *John Inglesant*. We select the latter as an almost perfect example of religious fiction. The careful statement of facts, the just appreciation of the adversary's standpoint, the recognition of what is truly admirable in the varied systems of life and thought pourtrayed, are worthy of the importance of the issues at stake; and then it is so high-toned withal in its quiet assumption of the supreme value of personal religion, and of the loss that inevitably follows on the neglect of it. There is no word of preaching at the reader; but how its lessons all come home! There is none of the sophistry so common in controversy to compass a passing and illegitimate triumph. As the reader is carried along the narrative of incident and the development of character, he is ever conscious of the intimate connection between the present world and that which lies beyond it, and is made to realize things unseen.

Shall we attempt to delineate what manner of work in the realm of fiction would be adequate to its enormous responsibilities, and make it the power for good which it might be and ought to be in our great Christian commonwealth?

The writer of romance cannot put into his work more than he has in himself, and his art must and will be the expression of his own inmost soul. He must then—to fulfil his high function aright—set out with the hypothesis of a Divine idea of the world, of a purpose of God in the creation of the universe, manifested indeed under serious limitations,

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and often seen only through a glass darkly, but revealed with increasing clearness to those who seek for it through long and laborious travail. By faith such a man understands that the things which are seen were not made by things which do appear; 'conscious that God has a purpose in his life, and in remembrance of his home in Him, he travels through this mortal life as the citizen of a better land, and looks on Nature with other than human eyes.' If the artist has in this way found entrance into the inner shrine of the counsels of God, he no longer views objects 'in isolation dead and spiritless,' or separates the different branches of study from their common origin and end, but he sees the end in the means, the universal in the particular; he has a light from heaven to shed upon the meanest concerns of life. Such a light is, of course, not that of the common day, but it is the ordinary mistake to suppose that it shines—if it ever shines at all—unsought and unsolicited in the souls of an elect few; whereas it is won by painful meditation, by study of the inner secret of a lost but redeemed world, and by subordination of the intellectual to the moral understanding of the riddle of the universe. An author so inwardly equipped, fairly abreast of the intellectual culture of his time, and in full sympathy with its highest aspirations and its keenest sorrows, will be likely to produce work that shall be worthy of his high calling as a teacher, in any walk of literature, in this twentieth century of the Christian era.

Judged by such an ideal standard, what can be said of the great body of modern fiction? We pass over, as altogether outside the reckoning, the great mass of books which fall from the press still-born, the works of authors absolutely incompetent and futile, the abortive productions of foolish people who, in their ambition to see their names in print, are willing to pay themselves for the issue of work which does not return half the cost of paper and print. If we are rightly informed, the quantity of such worthless waste each year is considerable. But of those which secure, and to some degree deserve, a better reception—or, to speak plainly, of the average mass of successful contemporary fiction, what proportion corresponds even remotely to the true conception of

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high-toned art? There is a plethora of ability, industry, and smartness in the modern novel. There is often sparkling brilliancy in dialogue, marvellous poetic feeling in describing natural scenery, skilful development of striking situations. Ingenuity of plot, fertility of invention, keen analysis of character, rapid and dexterous development of incident—all qualities of high excellence—characterize many contemporary novels. Yet in many even of the best there is the defect, which is felt even when not expressed, of any power

> 'to descry
> The mystic heaven and earth within,
> Plain as the sea and sky.'

For lack of this insight a large proportion of novelists, who excel chiefly in the development of character, depict a world absolutely without hope. They describe the butterflies of society as polished and kindly, yet frivolous, heartless, soulless, with no sense of anything better than the fleeting present, and no thought of the beyond. The more thoughtful characters in their pages are baffled by the perplexities of existence as they ponder the contradictions their own nature reveals to them. Take, for example, the most touching, thrilling picture drawn for us in *Audrey*—that masterpiece of truthful delineation, of poetic description of scenery, of firm portraiture of character. How singularly sweet and pure is the conception of the heroine—a simple child of Nature, tender, trustful, and true—timid, yet capable of patient endurance of suffering—in early womanhood a dreamer of dreams, from which she wakes to the consciousness of life's intolerable reality! How vivid is the presentation of Marmaduke Haward, with his fine instincts and his complex passions and his irresolution—despite his masterfulness—which breeds so much disaster, and his noble generosity to his bondsman, Angus Maclean! The gradual development of the story is singularly truthful and convincing. The difficulties inherent in the portrayal of a highly mixed and intricate nature are triumphantly grappled with; the subordinate persons very vividly and deftly sketched in. Life in Virginia at the opening of the eighteenth century stands out in stereoscopic relief.

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The book is full of beauty and of a fascination which is all the writer's own, and it well deserves the praises so bountifully accorded it. Yet how terribly unsatisfying it is! How absolutely without suggestion or hint that the riddle of the universe which it propounds so skilfully has its solution! When all the characters are exquisitely mellowed through the softening fires of suffering and love, when Audrey and Haward are on the very threshold of happiness, so painfully won, the cup of joy is dashed to atoms just as they are about to quaff it. If Miss Johnson's purpose were to repeat the well-worn theme, 'vanity of vanities,' it has been accomplished; but with all its genius and beauty *Audrey* carries us no further. In thus marking the limitations of her romance we are bringing no complaint against the gifted authoress. It is well to point so beautifully the truth, 'Tis better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all;' yet, when she was so close on the border-land, we cannot but regret that no hint is given us of the Delectable Mountains and the Celestial City—that no suggestion is made of a reality which would more than satisfy Audrey's brightest dreams.

The popularity of objectionable works of fiction is at once the more deplorable and the less excusable in face of the wealth of admirable and irreproachable romance which is constantly pouring from the press. To speak only of names which immediately occur to us, what delightful hours may be spent over the pages of R. L. Stevenson and Rudyard Kipling, of Stanley Weyman and Max Pemberton and Merriman, of Owen Meredith and Guy Boothby and Henry James and Anthony Hope, of Conan Doyle and Rider Haggard, of Cutcliffe Hyne and Frankfort Moore. With what dexterity has the genius of Mr. H. G. Wells adapted the marvels of scientific discovery and speculation to the service of romance, and created a new department of imaginative literature! And these are but a fraction of the numbers which swell the great army of novelists. Take some of their latest issues, such as *Count Hannibal*, or *The Velvet Glove*, or *Lisbeth*, or *The Lady Paramount*, or *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. The first three are striking indications that the practised hand of their authors has lost nothing of its cunning;

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the last two, though but slighter examples of the writer's skill, yet carrying the reader on unweariedly to the close. *The Lady Paramount* is a wonderful illustration of how much Mr. Henry Harland can make out of trifles light as air. There are only three persons in the story besides the hero and heroine, and all five of them—Anthony and Susanna, the grim old Commendatore Fregi, the old maiden lady Miss Sanders, and Adrian, the irrepressible, all of them are lovable. With its airy grace, and its really wonderful descriptions of scenery, and its 'charm of earliest birds,' and its facilities of whimsical and pleasant talk, *The Lady Paramount* is like a graceful picture painted in tints of ethereal delicacy, which is yet not deficient in distinctness and firmness of touch.

Those who are curious to see a successful novelist at work will be gratified with Sir T. Wemyss Reid's biography of William Black. The book is written with all the enthusiasm of close and highly cherished intimacy, and presents an alluring picture. It repeats the old story of early struggles and chilling failures, and final success was—as success is alone worth winning—step by step, through steadfastness of purpose, persistent high resolve, and unwearied toil. The countless readers of Black's charming stories may learn here at what cost of mental parturition the delightful creations of his fancy were brought to light. *Si vis me flere, fles ipse*, and Black's men and women were intensely real to himself before he introduced them, all instinct with life, to the world. He owed his wonderful descriptions of scenery to such scrupulous fidelity to truth that he paid a visit to the Isle of Mull amidst deep snow in order to paint its winter garb in *Macleod of Dare*. And the man himself was no less fascinating than his romances, if Sir Wemyss Reid's account of him is accurate, at the rare moments

'when the veil of reticence in which he was so commonly shrouded was rent, and he bared his heart to his friends. Under no other conditions could one so fully realize all that he was—the poet, the thinker, the artist, the man of lofty ideals, the eager and untiring student of life, with its manifold, unspeakable mysteries, its awful tragedies, and its glorious possibilities . . . No jarring note was ever struck in those long talks; no ungenerous word fell from his

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lips, no mean or sordid thought. And yet his mood would change with startling suddenness, passing from grave to gay, from deep speculations on those questions upon which human hopes and happiness depend to the lightest and the brightest of the topics which attracted him, the beauties of some spot seen once far away, or the glorious uncertainties of salmon-fishing on the Oykel, or the delights of yachting in the Western seas' (p. 221).

Doubtless Black had his limitations and his defects, some of them due to reaction against the stern Calvinistic creed in which he had been reared in early childhood. Yet, broadly speaking, his books are not unworthy of a man whom his biographer, with possibly pardonable exaggeration, calls 'one of the purest, manliest, most chivalrous souls the world has ever known.'

A noteworthy, and we may add a satisfactory, element in the history of the modern novel is the immense popularity of what is called the Kailyard School. These stories have been circulated by hundreds of thousands, and the astounding success of the earlier and abler writers—Ian Maclaren and J. M. Barrie—has naturally produced a host of imitators, some of whom are not unworthy of their prototypes. The author of the *Colloquies of Criticism* suggests an elaborate explanation of their extraordinary attractiveness:

'Every novel,' he says, 'in which the narrative is written in the language of the highly educated, while the characters speak in some different and provincial dialect, implies that the readers to whom it is addressed are persons in a position superior to that which the characters occupy, and invites them to judge the characters by a set of standards different from, and in a certain sense superior to, the standards of the characters themselves' (p. 37).

To the subtle flattery thus adroitly and imperceptibly administered, and to the introduction of their readers to that Scottish mode of life and thought which to most of them is a new world, the writer insists that the signal appreciation of these books may be ascribed. We hold that this criticism—acute as it appears—is utterly inadequate, and that it entirely fails to apprehend the true reason why a series of tales of cottage life, with no plot and no catastrophe, with little external

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picturesqueness, dealing with that commonplace peasant life which is devoid of incident and narrow in range—why such stories should have been able to command universal popularity. The *Colloquies of Criticism* does less than justice to the broad human sympathies which fill the hearts of the thousands of dwellers in modern suburban villas, and to the unfailing and irresistible interest which real practical godliness, when deftly portrayed, awakens in every human breast. It is in the eye to see and the graphic pen to describe, in the genuine pathos salted with native and unexaggerated humour, in the singularly delicate touch of Nature that makes the whole world kin—it is in these that the true secret of the triumph of the Kailyard School is to be found.

Take, for example, the two works, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* and *A Window in Thrums*, which we regard as the masterpieces of the school. There is not a single superfluous page, there is not a line of padding, but a series of cabinet pictures, each in itself so perfect a gem that we know not to which to give the preference as we pass them in review, alternately grave and gay. The whole of 'Domsie' and 'The Doctor of the Old School' in the one book, and 'Preparing to receive Company' and 'The Last Night' in the other, are perhaps the most conspicuous instances of the literary skill combined with tenderness of feeling which pervades them. And the leading characters—Margaret Hoo, Dr. MacLure, Mrs. Macfayden (the sermon-taster), Drumsheugh, Hendrie, Leeby, Jess, and, last and best, James Soutar, the inimitable—what distinct creations they are! What a gallery of vivid, breathing portraiture! What an addition to the types we cherish in mind and memory! What depths of spiritual thought, what heights of spiritual aspiration, what vigour of practical spiritual life is revealed in the story of these outwardly grim and unattractive country folk! Yet all wear the unmistakable stamp of reality and paint with truthful touches the mellowing of character under the influence of simple and self-denying piety. The Christian thought and life here described have doubtless their marked limitations, but as we read our heart is stirred with a godly jealousy of the religious training which

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can work so effectually on toiling rustics and homely weavers north of the Tweed.

Such books may exert a far more beneficial influence than that which is exercised by novels written with an avowedly religious purpose—a class of fiction of great importance at the present day. Incredible as it seems, there is a multitude of readers who are ready to accept almost any new-fangled creed presented to them in a work of fiction. It is easy to pour cheap sarcasm upon people who in their want of religious guidance think they can find it ready and complete in boards for six shillings, but the root of such delusion lies in the failure of the Church to inoculate the great mass of the English middle-class with a real knowledge of Christianity. Here is the explanation offered by a competent critic of the popularity of religious fiction:

'The readers of religious novels,' she writes, 'are ever on the watch for new faiths. Oppressed with a thousand sorrows as old as Time, they still press forward with unceasing optimism to try new recipes for joy. I think that we have here the real reason for the popularity of religious fiction; it is one more cure for the ills of a world that has "ailed from the first." Not an abstract love of truth, not even a deep interest in theology, is at the root of the demand for religious fiction; but the intensely personal question, "Will this help to make me happier?"'[1]

—a question, we may add, which presses on many minds in a day when men are intensely restless and unsettled, and, although better off in material enjoyment, are not so happy as their fathers.

What the ultimate result will be, if the popularity of injurious fiction and its continuous supply remain unchecked, is a question of grave importance. There are not wanting signs which indicate that the deterioration of the national tone in religion and morals is extending, and those who have the welfare of the fatherland at heart should speak out with no uncertain voice. The sister art to fiction exhibits like unmistakable marks of degradation, and there are plays presented in London theatres the popularity of which,

[1] Miss J. Findlater in the *National Review*, March, 1902.

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without having an unnatural moral standard, we cannot but deplore. But the evil influence of objectionable plays is not a tithe in amount of that exerted by pernicious novels. If Christian fathers and mothers were more mindful of their duty, and insisted on the exclusion of questionable novels from their houses, an improvement might be effected; but we tremble to think of the conditions under which a younger generation will be brought up by mothers whose minds have been nurtured upon the garbage now so plentifully administered. If the pulpit were more frequently used for its fitting purpose of warning against a real and pressing evil, not by sweeping generalizations, as was too much the habit among the earlier Evangelicals, who denounced all novels indiscriminately, but by judicious and sympathetic teaching, and by outspoken condemnation of the growing laxity of morals, the public conscience might be awakened to the urgency of the peril. And, perhaps more than all, if those in high places would set the example of discountenancing not only pernicious literature, but its authors, a higher tone of feeling would gradually obtain. The responsibility of those in position is greater than they realise, and the patronage extended to what seems only doubtful may have far-reaching and disastrous consequences.

ART. VII.—MAURICE MAETERLINCK.

1. *Théâtre*: tomes I.–III. (Bruxelles: Lacomblez, 1901–1902.)
2. *Le Trésor des Humbles.* (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1896.)
3. *La Sagesse et la Destinée.* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1898.)
4. *La Vie des Abeilles.* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1901.)

A YEAR or two ago it might safely have been affirmed that the majority of English readers, to whom the name of Maurice Maeterlinck was known at all, derived their idea of him from

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parodies in *Punch* and from a vague recollection of magazine articles in which he was described as 'the Belgian Shakespeare.' The performance of a few of his dramas at English theatres and in an English dress tended to deepen, both in those who saw them and in those who only read the critics' descriptions of them, the impression that he was a somewhat absurd person, whose dialogues were constructed on Ollendorffian principles, and who was admired mainly by those who delight in esoteric cults of foreign writers. To-day the public attitude is modified. Instead of enigmatical dramas, M. Maeterlinck has taken to writing prose essays and treatises, which, if often obscure and elusive, yet are suggestive of ideas intelligible and even attractive to the ordinary reader; and (in part through the medium of good translations [1]) his later works have not only become known outside the circle of esoteric devotees, but even have become a part of the curriculum of those whose patronage of the lending libraries extends one grade above the ordinary novel to the class of books opprobriously known as 'intellectual' or 'improving.'

M. Maeterlinck's development, as we hope to show later, is not yet complete, but it has reached an interesting stage. We have no longer to deal with the crude, if striking, promise of a youth, but with the utterances, now maturely developed, of a writer of real genius, in whom the poet and the philosopher are blended in an engaging and attractive mixture. He has given us a sufficient output of work to enable us to judge of its quality, to note the direction in which his development has been tending, and to form hopes with regard to his future. It is one of his attractive characteristics that he does not

[1] M. Maeterlinck's prose works have been translated by Mr. Alfred Sutro (*The Treasure of the Humble*, 1897; *Wisdom and Destiny*, 1899; *The Life of the Bee*, 1901), and to those who do not feel at ease in reading French these versions can be strongly recommended. They have the great merit of placing literary style before precise verbal accuracy, and go as far as can fairly be expected of translations in the way of reproducing the tone of the originals. When the contrary is not stated, these versions have been used in the quotations given below. Of the plays, *Aglavaine et Sélysette* has been translated by Mr. Sutro, *Ariane* and *Sœur Béatrice* by Mr. B. Miall, and *Pelléas et Mélisande* and *Les Aveugles* by Mr. L. Alma Tadema; but the atmosphere which is essential to M. Maeterlinck's dramas is almost bound to escape a translator.

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stand still. He is not one of the writers who make a mark in a single field of authorship, and continue to plough the same furrow for the rest of their literary career. His attitude towards the problems of life has changed, has progressed, in the comparatively few years during which he has been before the public; and while he has already said much which is instructive and suggestive, we are not without hope that he may have things yet wiser and more helpful still to say. He is a poet in temperament, and a thinker who looks beyond the borders of everyday life; and in an age of which the besetting danger is materialism such a writer deserves a welcome, even if we do not understand all that he says, nor agree with all that we understand.

To English readers it may be a further recommendation that M. Maeterlinck displays a considerable knowledge of and admiration for some of the leaders of English literature. Shakespeare he knows well, and draws examples of events and character from his plays more frequently than from those of any other dramatist or from the records of real life. He has translated one of the masterpieces of Shakespeare's contemporary, Ford. Carlyle he quotes frequently and with respect. Emerson is one of his masters, and he has edited, with an interesting introduction, a translation of several of his essays. Un-English though he is in the cast of his mind, his speculations are often on subjects with which English thought is apt to concern itself, and his illustrations are not unfrequently drawn from English literature. Fully intelligible in his main purposes, suggestive even when obscure, healthy in intention, if not always in effect, he is an author whom English readers of a thoughtful turn of mind may well read with profit and enjoyment, even if they do not feel called upon to go into ecstasies over his genius.

M. Maeterlinck, as we said above, is both poet (though he rarely writes in verse) and philosopher, but the two sides of his genius are so involved and interconnected that it is impossible to keep the consideration of them wholly apart. His dramas elucidate his philosophical conceptions; his essays help us to understand and estimate his dramas. In biographical order, his plays precede his prose publications; for

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La Princesse Maleine appeared in 1890, and six more dramas had been published before the appearance of *Le Trésor des Humbles* in 1896. Nevertheless it will be more profitable to consider his prose writings first, both because they present a more concrete subject for discussion, and because a knowledge of them makes it easier to appreciate the aims and estimate the success of his dramas.

M. Maeterlinck is often described as a mystic; and unquestionably the great mystics of past generations—Plotinus, Ruysbroeck, Novalis, Swedenborg—have a strong attraction for him and have greatly influenced his development. His position is thus stated by himself in the essay prefixed to his translation of the works of the mediæval mystic, Ruysbroeck:[1]

'If I have translated this, it is solely because I believe that the writings of the mystics are the purest jewels in all the prodigious treasures of humanity. . . . Mystical truths have this strange superiority over truths of the ordinary kind, that they know neither age nor death. There is not a truth which has not descended on the world one morning, marvellous in its youth and strength, and arrayed with the fresh and wonderful hue appropriate to those things which have never before been uttered; traverse now the infirmaries of the human soul, where all these truths come at length to die, and you will not find there a single mystical thought. They possess the immunity of Swedenborg's angels, which progress continually towards the springtime of their youth, so that the eldest angels always appear the youngest.'

It is in M. Maeterlinck's first volume of essays, entitled *Le Trésor des Humbles*, that his mystical philosophy is most fully expressed. Like all mystical philosophy, it is difficult to reduce to precise terms, or to interpret satisfactorily to those who have not read the book itself. It is a volume of essays, each an independent whole in itself, but linked together by the common thought underlying them—the thought of the activity of the soul outside and transcending the ordinary methods of self-expression by means of the

[1] *Le Trésor des Humbles*, pp. 121–123. This essay is not included by Mr. Sutro in his translation, and he is consequently not responsible for the version here given.

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natural senses. Our relations with other souls are not confined to the communications which we hold with them by sight and speech. We may have conversed with a newcomer on no subject more profound than the weather and the garden; yet at the end of our conversation we have made a friend or discovered a barrier of mutual antipathy or suspicion. It is in this life, 'la vie selon l'âme,' which transcends our ordinary visible life of every day, that the essence of our real life lies. 'It is only by the communications we have with the Infinite that we are to be distinguished from each other. If the hero is greater than the wretch who marches by his side, it is because at a certain moment of his existence there has come to him a fuller consciousness of one of these communications. . . . In the life of every man has there been a day when the heavens opened of their own accord, and it is almost always from that very instant that dates his true spiritual personality.'[1] And this interior life, besides being far more real and essential than all that which we ordinarily call our life, more even than our reason and our practical will, also affects infinitely the ordinary manifestations of our character. It is by cultivating our spiritual nature that we rise to higher things; and we cannot raise ourselves without raising our neighbour at the same time. The effort to live up to a higher standard of truth and beauty will bring its own fruition. 'No tongue can tell the power of a soul that strives to live in an atmosphere of beauty, and is actively beautiful in itself.'[2] Or, to quote a longer passage—

'Be good at the depths of you, and you will discover that those who surround you will be good even to the same depths. Nothing responds more infallibly to the secret cry of goodness than the secret cry of goodness that is near. While you are actively good in the invisible, all those who approach you will unconsciously do things that they could not do by the side of any other man. Therein lies a force that has no name; a spiritual rivalry that knows no resistance. It is as though this were the actual place where is the sensitive spot of our soul: for there are souls that seem to have forgotten their existence and to have renounced everything that enables the being

[1] *The Treasure of the Humble*, pp. 171, 172 (Eng. trans.).
[2] *Ibid.* p. 212.

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to rise; but, once touched here, they all draw themselves erect; and in the divine plains of the secret goodness the most humble of souls cannot endure defeat.

'And yet it is possible that nothing is changing in the life one sees; but is it only that which matters, and is our existence indeed confined to actions we can take in our hand like stones on the high road? If you ask yourself, as we are told we should ask every evening, "What of immortal have I done to-day?" is it always on the material side that we can count, weigh, and measure unerringly; is it there that you must begin your search? It is possible for you to cause extraordinary tears to flow; it is possible that you may fill a heart with unheard-of certitudes, and give eternal life unto a soul, and no one shall know of it, nor shall you even know yourself. It may be that nothing is changing; it may be that were it put to the test all would crumble, and that this goodness we speak of would yield to the smallest fear. It matters not. Something divine has happened; and somewhere must our God have smiled.'[1]

It is this inner life, this cultivation of spiritual beauty, which constitutes 'the treasure of the humble.' No being need be without it: none, indeed, can be wholly destitute of the capacity for it, since it is part of the common heritage of human nature. The life of the soul is as invisible as the ether, but is as essential to spiritual light as that is to natural light; and the spiritual life ranks as far in advance of the intellectual life as the intellectual life is in advance of the material. The capacity can be crushed by neglect, by that absorption in material considerations and interests which fills so large a part of the life of the majority of us; or, on the other hand, it can be developed by cultivation, by the constant effort to live beautifully and think nobly.

'We all live in the sublime. Where else can we live? That is the only place of life. And if aught be lacking, it is not the chance of living in heaven, rather is it watchfulness and meditation, also perhaps a little ecstasy of soul. Though you have but a little room, do you fancy that God is not there too, and that it is impossible to live therein a life that shall be somewhat lofty? If you complain of being alone, of the absence of events, of loving no one and being unloved, do you think that the words are true? Do you imagine that one can possibly be alone, that love can be a thing one knows,

[1] *The Treasure of the Humble*, pp. 166, 167.

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a thing one sees ; that events can be weighed like the gold and silver of ransom? Cannot a living thought—proud or humble it matters not; so it come but from your soul, it is great for you—cannot a lofty desire, or simply a moment of solemn watchfulness to life, enter a little room? And if you love not, or are unloved, and can yet see with some depth of insight that thousands of things are beautiful, that the soul is great and life almost unspeakably earnest, is not that as beautiful as though you loved or were loved?'[1]

In all this, it may be said, there is nothing new, nothing which has not often formed the theme of poet and preacher; and of this expression of M. Maeterlinck's meaning, involving the concentration of many pages into a few sentences with a total loss of the atmosphere created by M. Maeterlinck's literary skill, this is true enough. We should be the last to contend that there is anything true and noble in M. Maeterlinck's philosophy which is not given in equal or fuller measure by Christianity. Nevertheless, we welcome M. Maeterlinck's essays as embodying a true thought in new and beautiful language, and in a form which will appeal to many whom the utterances of the professed divine would not reach. To many a man, unfortunately, as to M. Maeterlinck himself, orthodox Christianity appears in the guise of a system of dead and deadening formulas, devoid of truly spiritual impetus; and until this hostility, grounded upon ignorance, is dissipated, one must be content that such persons should approach the truth by other avenues. 'He that is not against us is for us'; and in these days of materialism, when the pressure and interests of the world around us, in which our lives have to be passed, threaten often to overwhelm all thoughts of a more spiritual nature, it is pleasant to welcome a writer whose outlook on life is spiritual, not material, and whose influence, by the literary art in which it is embodied, is likely to touch many whom religion does not yet touch.

Other topics are touched on in this volume, other aspects of the supra-sensual life which is the special theme of the

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 179, 180. The whole of this essay, *La Vie Profonde*, is well worth study, and contains the kernel of M. Maeterlinck's philosophy.

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mystics. Sometimes it is difficult to follow M. Maeterlinck's thought, or to put oneself into the frame of mind which he is trying to evoke. The mystic is necessarily dealing with spheres beyond our ken, and is striving to describe in words that which is strictly indescribable. He is expressing thoughts which even in himself are rather vague aspirations and half-formed images than clear and definite beliefs, and he has to create in his readers the same sort of mental atmosphere as that in which he himself moves. M. Maeterlinck's literary skill aids him greatly in thus creating an atmosphere, whether it is the atmosphere of tragic and mysterious destiny which hangs over many of his plays, or the atmosphere of spiritual environment which surrounds the essays of which we have been speaking; but their effect must vary according to the idiosyncrasy of the reader, or even according to the mood in which he finds himself when reading them. Subjected to hard matter-of-fact criticism, they may seem to contain little that is definite and less that is true; nevertheless, the sympathetic reader will find in them much that is suggestive and even helpful. The English author with whom he may best be compared is Emerson in his more transcendental moods. There is the same sense of truth being illuminated by successive flashes, which severally show up only a part of the truth, yet show it up very vividly, and collectively leave behind an impression which, if not the whole truth, is at least an important approximation to it.

Most of Emerson's writings, however, have a closer relation to actual life and character than the essays we have hitherto been considering; otherwise they would not be so full of helpfulness and interest as they are, especially to those whose intellectual life is just beginning to develope. M. Maeterlinck's next volume, *La Sagesse et la Destinée*, enters this sphere of character and conduct, and is therefore likely to be more generally popular, and also more generally useful, than its predecessor. Up to the present, indeed, it is the most notable of its author's non-dramatic productions; and if the philosophy which it contains differs very noticeably from that which underlies nearly all the dramas, it differs very distinctly for the better. Its main theme is the relation

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of man to 'Destiny,' and the upshot of its teaching is the superiority of man to that mysterious power outside him. It is, no doubt, true that many men are overpowered by their destiny, or abandon themselves to it without a struggle; but that is their own fault, their own culpable weakness. The wise man (and by the wise man M. Maeterlinck, like Plato, means the man who unites the higher qualities alike of mind and character) is superior to the buffets of fate, and either blunts its arrows by the spirit with which he confronts them, or, even if physically overcome by misfortune, is morally the victor by reason of the nobility of mind with which he meets it. The great tragedies of life and literature could not be conceived as happening if their victims had risen to the standard which we find in the noblest of mankind. Place Marcus Aurelius in the position of Œdipus, and his soul would have risen superior to the calamity instead of being crushed by it. Nay, more, it would seem as if wisdom in itself created a refuge in which the powers of fate lose their force.

'Had Socrates dwelt in Agamemnon's palace among the Atrides, then had there been no Oresteia, nor would Œdipus ever have dreamed of destroying his sight if he had been tranquilly seated on the threshold of Jocasta's abode. Fatality shrinks back abashed from the soul that has more than once conquered her; there are certain disasters she dare not send forth when this soul is near, and the sage, as he passes by, intervenes in numberless tragedies.'[1]

'Man is the master of his fate;' that is, in fact, the motto of this book. All depends on the way in which we meet the events of life. Even happiness and unhappiness arise, not so much from the actual occurrences which we experience as from the spirit in which we receive them.

'Those who are sad are ever inclined to regard happiness as something beyond them, extraordinary, out of their reach. But if all who may count themselves happy were to tell, very simply, what it was that brought happiness to them, the others would see that between sorrow and joy the difference is but as between a gladsome,

[1] *Wisdom and Destiny*, p. 35 (Eng. trans.).

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enlightened acceptance of life and a hostile, gloomy submission, between a large and harmonious conception of life and one that is stubborn and narrow.'[1]

Our experiences, indeed, are largely determined by our characters. 'Deeds of heroism are but offered to those who for many long years have been heroes in obscurity and silence.' Go where you will, 'none but yourself shall you meet on the highway of fate. If Judas go forth to-night it is towards Judas his steps will tend, nor will chance for betrayal be lacking; but let Socrates open his door, he shall find Socrates asleep on the threshold before him, and there will be occasion for wisdom.'[2]

'To those round about us there happen incessant and countless adventures, whereof every one, it would seem, contains a germ of heroism; but the adventure passes away and heroic deed is there none. But when Jesus Christ met the Samaritan, met a few children, an adulterous woman, then did humanity rise three times in succession to the level of God.'[3]

If we ask, in what does this 'wisdom' consist, which thus conquers 'destiny,' we shall find that, on the one hand, it is something more than the intellectual virtue to which we commonly give the name; while, on the other, it falls short in certain respects of the Christian ideal of character. Wisdom is a higher and wider virtue than intellect, covering the whole sphere of our moral nature, with which indeed our reason has but little to do.

'Strangely enough,' says M. Maeterlinck, 'it is not in our reason that moral life has its being; and he who would let reason govern his life would be the most wretched of men. There is not a virtue, a beautiful thought, or a generous deed, but has most of its roots hidden far away from that which can be understood or explained.'[4]

Or again:

'Happiness is a plant that thrives far more readily in moral than in intellectual life. Consciousness—the consciousness of happiness, above all—will not choose the intellect as a hiding-place for the

[1] *Wisdom and Destiny*, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 31.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 20.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 110.

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treasure it holds most dear. At times it would almost seem as if all that is loftiest in intellect, fraught with most comfort, is transformed into consciousness only when passed through an act of virtue.'[1]

Wisdom, then, lies not in a successful intellectual appreciation of our surroundings, but in the noble attitude of mind and character with which we face the world and 'destiny.' But how does it, in truth, help us to overcome this 'destiny,' this apparently blind fate, which, according to M. Maeterlinck's philosophy, surrounds us all? It certainly does not abolish suffering. On the contrary, the sage suffers perhaps more than an ordinary man, just because he is a more perfect man. The difference is not in the suffering, but in the way in which suffering is met. 'Were the only son of Socrates and Thersites to die the same day, Socrates' grief would in no way resemble the grief of Thersites.'[2] Misfortune and pain, which strike down the common soul, do but increase the nobility of the noble soul, by giving it an occasion for exercise. The soul which has been accustomed to live for the little pleasures of common life, to devote itself merely to the transient interests of the day, may be desolated by a blow which deprives it of these pleasures and interests; but the soul which has been trained in nobler activities cannot be equally desolated, because suffering cannot deprive it of the sources of its content. In many cases misfortune strikes only at the lower order of our pleasures; and even the great sorrows, which seem to blot out all the light of our life and to turn day into night, may be met nobly or ignobly, may be the occasion of our rising to yet higher conceptions of our life and duty, or of our falling into the swamps of despair and inactivity.

Teaching such as this, though one cannot but feel how much it loses both in beauty and in force through its severance from Christian beliefs and ideals, is yet teaching on the right side, appealing to men's higher nature and leading them up from the levels of hedonistic materialism. The latter portion of the book is less satisfactory, in the picture which it gives of the ideal sage. The true sage, according to

[1] *Ibid.* p. 136. [2] *Ibid.* p. 33.

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M. Maeterlinck, will find his fullest development in the cultivation of his capacities for noble happiness:

'There are some occasions in life, inevitable and of general bearing, that demand resignation, which is necessary then, and good; but there are many occasions when we are still able to fight; and at such times resignation is no more than veiled helplessness, idleness, ignorance. So it is with sacrifice too, which is indeed most often the withered arm resignation still shakes in the void. There is beauty in simple self-sacrifice when its hour has come unsought, when its motive is happiness of others; but it cannot be wise, or of use to mankind, to make sacrifice the aim of one's life, or to regard its achievement as the magnificent triumph of the spirit over the body. . . . Sacrifice may be a flower that virtue will pluck on its road, but it was not to gather this flower that virtue set forth on its travels. It is a grave error to think that the beauty of soul is most clearly revealed by the eager desire for sacrifice; for the soul's fertile beauty resides in its consciousness, in the elevation and power of its life. There are some, it is true, who awake from their sleep at the call of sacrifice only; but these lack the strength and courage to seek other forms of moral existence. It is, as a rule, far easier to sacrifice self—to give up, that is, our moral existence to the first one who chooses to take it—than to fulfil our spiritual destiny, to accomplish, right to the end, the task for which we were created.[1]

Not in self-sacrifice, then, but in self-development, is the ideal to be found. It is a high ideal—the ideal of Plato and Aristotle and Goethe; but, as here expressed, it lacks the crowning glory of the Christian ideal of self-surrender, of self-identification with the will of God. The highest virtue, the supreme happiness of which the sage is capable, is, it is admitted, to be found in love; but it is love of a fellow-creature, not of a Creator or a Saviour. On this point M. Maeterlinck is explicit, and shows at the same time his want of appreciation of the Christian standpoint:

'To love God, and to serve Him with all one's might, will not suffice to bring peace and strength to the soul of man. It is only by means of the knowledge and thought we have gained and developed by contact with men that we can learn how God should be loved; for, notwithstanding all things, the human soul remains profoundly human still. . . . If there come toward us a man whose soul is

[1] *Wisdom and Destiny*, pp. 167–169.

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truly tranquil and calm, we may be certain that human virtues have given him his tranquillity and his calmness. Were we permitted to peer into the secret recesses of hearts that are now no more, we might discover, perhaps, that the fountain of peace whereat Fénelon slaked his thirst every night of his exile lay rather in his loyalty to Madame Guyon in her misfortunes, in his love for the slandered, persecuted Dauphin, than in his expectation of eternal reward; rather in the irreproachable human conscience within him, overflowing with fidelity and tenderness, than in the hopes he cherished as a Christian.' [1]

Possibly; but what a stunted view of the Christian ideal, which limits it to the 'expectation of eternal reward'!

These two volumes, *The Treasure of the Humble* and *Wisdom and Destiny*, are the two most complete statements of M. Maeterlinck's philosophy, on its metaphysical and ethical sides, that have yet appeared; and their popularity in his own country and in France is shown by the fact that as long as a year ago they had reached, in their original French dress, their twenty-first and their twelfth thousand respectively. In England a higher level of popularity, as tested by the statistics of sales, has been reached by his later work, *The Life of the Bee*, which ran through three editions in the course of four months last year. It is characteristic of the class of readers which makes a lending-library success that it should be so; for it is certain that a combination of popular science with poetical, semi-philosophical reflections appeals to many minds far more strongly than a treatise in which the powder of philosophy is offered without the jam of sentimental science. *The Life of the Bee*, though an interesting book enough, has not the same value in itself, nor as a representation of M. Maeterlinck's thought, as the volumes already described. It is rather the recreation of an author who, being also incidentally a bee-lover, portrays the life of his favourite insects in poetical language to an accompaniment of philosophical reflections. Of the two we prefer the narrative to the meditations. The life of that marvellous community, a hive of bees, well bears description by a sympathetic and poetically-minded observer; and the fascination of the study

[1] *Ibid.* p. 283.

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is readily communicated to the reader. From this point of view the book may be cordially recommended to many who would not be attracted by a formal treatise on apiculture. But M. Maeterlinck, being poet and thinker as well as bee-keeper, is tempted to philosophise on the phenomena presented by the life of the bee, and his speculations are more than usually halting and unsatisfying. The mysteries of Nature baffle his inquiries. The problems of the bee's existence are such as we, with our limited knowledge, are unable to solve. The organization of the hive, the reasoning faculties of the bee—so extensive in some directions, so limited and unprogressive in others; the apparently useless multiplication of males, who do no work and of whom only an infinitesimally small proportion is required to take part in the perpetuation of the species; the apparently cumbrous method by which this perpetuation is effected; the ruthless slaughter, at a given moment and with a common impulse, of the superfluous drones—all these phenomena of the life of the bee may suggest reflections as to the wastefulness, the purposelessness, the blindness of Nature; but the reflections are valueless, because we have no reason to suppose that all the facts of the case are before us, and the whole aspect of them might be altered by an increase of our knowledge. To study the ways of Nature is profitable and interesting; to speculate on their moral interpretation is apt to be futile, and in the present case leads to nothing but a series of interrogations to which no answer is given.

Throughout it all, one feels that M. Maeterlinck is hankering after some light on the great problem of the relations between man and the forces that lie outside him, whether we call them Nature, Destiny, or God. This is, indeed, the problem which is at the root of all his writings, whether in the form of dramatic compositions or speculative essays; and it is interesting to follow the modifications which time and reflection have introduced into his attitude towards it. In his earlier plays one feels that all the characters are merely puppets in the hand of a destructive, if not actually malignant, fate. This fate is not the fate of the Greek tragedians—a cold, clear-cut impersonation of immutable law, automatically

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dealing out retribution for sin; rather it is a mysterious, impalpable power, whose action cannot be foreseen, guided by no fixed laws, but ever tending to involve in irremediable calamity the unfortunate creatures who live beneath its sway. The sense of calamity, undeserved but inevitable, hangs heavy over the stage, and the victims can but writhe and moan before its approach. In such a situation there may be pity and horror, but the unreasoning aimlessness of it alienates our sympathy, because it is so unlike our conception of the reality of life. In the later plays, though the background is still one of tragedy, though misfortune awaits the principal personages in them, yet the chain of events leading to the catastrophe is more natural; we feel that the characters are no longer helpless automata in the grasp of destiny, but that their individualities react upon their fate and derive their interest from the manner in which they confront it.

In none of the plays, however, do we reach the attitude assumed in *Wisdom and Destiny*, where Destiny is represented as overcome by Wisdom, and even as stripped of half its powers by the mere presence of the wise man. In *Aglavaine et Sélysette*, one of the latest of M. Maeterlinck's plays, we do indeed find the embodiment of much of his philosophy. Many of the ideas which are prominent in the essays are here expressly repeated—the idea of the intercourse of soul with soul transcending the utterances of spoken words, the contagious influence of a noble soul on those who surround it, the growth and expansion of the soul through noble effort; but the great idea of the victory of wisdom is not reached. The presence of the perfectly wise and noble character of Aglavaine does not avert the tragedy, it produces it. Beautiful and noble though she is, and meeting a whole-hearted response from both Méléandre and Sélysette, nevertheless no solution is found save in the self-sacrifice of the latter—the old, old solution of the problem of incompatible loves.

The thesis of *Wisdom and Destiny*, therefore, represents a further stage in the progress of M. Maeterlinck's thought in the direction of an intelligent theory of the universe as a rationally ordered whole, animated by a soul of good, not by

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a blind irrational fate. M. Maeterlinck is still comparatively young; he has shown that his mind is open to new conceptions, that he is not afraid of admitting that his attitude towards the great problems of existence has changed; and the interesting preface to the recent collected edition of his dramatic works proves that he realizes in what direction his ideas have been moving. It will be interesting to see how far his train of development will carry him; whether he will not find the scales constantly dipping more and more in favour of an intelligently, nay, of a divinely, ordered universe; whether he will so far be able to emancipate himself from the fetters in which so much of the intellectual life of the present day, especially upon the Continent, is bound by early training and prejudice, as to recognize in Christianity, not a dry system of narrow-minded utilitarianism, but the solution of the problem for which he is craving.

To this consummation, however, it may still be a far cry; and for the present we have to deal with M. Maeterlinck, not merely as a philosopher, but as a man of letters. From this point of view he has long been severely handicapped, in the eyes of the reading public at large, by the indiscreet adulation of those who, in the early days of his appearance, hailed him as 'the Belgian Shakespeare.' Apart from the obvious extravagance of such a comparison, it is wholly inappropriate to the character of M. Maeterlinck's work. It is true that he is a dramatist, but that is about all that he has in common with the English poet. Whatever may be the merits of his compositions, Shakespearian is the last epithet that can properly be applied to them. No quality is more 'Shakespearian' than that of life-like characterization. It is a commonplace to say that Shakespeare's characters live and move, that we feel as if we knew and should recognize Rosalind and Beatrice, Falstaff and Iago, even Hamlet and Lady Macbeth; but we cannot conceive the possibility of our meeting Mélisande or Sélysette, though these are among the more human and natural of M. Maeterlinck's characters.

The truth is that M. Maeterlinck's merits lie elsewhere than in realistic characterization. It is the air of mystery,

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of gloom, of irresistible fate, that lends his tragedies the attraction which they undoubtedly possess. We feel that we are moving in an unreal world, in which the probabilities of ordinary life may be ignored while we watch the shadow of fate grow larger and larger upon the walls, before the inevitable hand of death crushes the helpless victims in its grasp. The stage setting of all these dramas—the gloomy castles with their vast ranges of rooms and corridors, the black, unexplored caverns, the unfathomed pools, the trackless forests, which form the common *mise-en-scène*; the names of the characters—Pelléas, Golaud, Astolaine, Palomides, Tintagiles, Aglavaine, Méligrane, recalling the heroes and heroines of Arthurian legend—all these accessories increase, as they are no doubt intended to increase, the atmosphere of romance and unreality. With realism, in fact, as the term is generally understood, M. Maeterlinck has nothing to do. It is the spiritual atmosphere which surrounds life that concerns him, the relations between man and the powers external to him; and for this purpose it is not necessary that the characters of his personages should be more than lightly indicated.

On this subject M. Maeterlinck's recent preface to his collected dramatic works shows the view which he himself takes of the duties and possibilities of dramatic poetry:

'Poetry of the first rank, if we look at it closely, is composed mainly of three elements. First, beauty of language; secondly, the study and representation, tinged with emotion, of that which actually exists in and around us—in other words, Nature and our own feelings; and finally, enveloping the whole work and creating its true atmosphere, the conception which the poet forms of the Unknown, in which float the persons and the things which his imagination creates—of the mysterious Power which overshadows them and determines their destinies. There can, I think, be no doubt that this last element is the most important of the three. Consider any fine poem, however short or slight it may be, and you will seldom find its beauty or its sublimity confined to the common affairs of daily life. Nine times out of ten it owes these qualities to an allusion to the mystery of human fate, to some new link between the visible and the invisible, the temporal and the eternal.'[1]

[1] *Théâtre*, vol. i. Pref. p. x.

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In his earlier dramas M. Maeterlinck's conception of this Unknown was, almost without qualification, of a pessimistic and gloomy description ; and it is in evoking this atmosphere of mystery and horror, of impending and inevitable fate, that his peculiar power lies. Even those devices which lend themselves most readily to parody, such as the half-bewildered repetition by one speaker of the words just uttered by another, help in the production of this effect. Three of the shorter plays may, in fact, best be described as studies in the atmosphere of impending doom. In *L'Intruse* we have the picture of a family circle, assembled in the room adjoining that in which the mother is lying ill, and the sense of the gradual approach of the terrible visitor, realized at first and most of all by the blind grandfather, resisted for a time by the father and the uncle, but at last communicating itself to all the family. In *Intérieur* (a less impressive study) we have, as it were, the same effect viewed from outside, a family group, unsuspecting trouble, watched from without by a group of persons who have come to carry to them the news of the death of one of the daughters of the house by drowning, but who hesitate to break in on them with such a message, until the approach of the crowd with the dead body force them into action. Finally, in *La Mort de Tintagiles*, a drama which eludes description by the very unreality of its plot when stated in plain words, we have an overwhelmingly oppressive accumulation of horror and mystery, made more terrible and pathetic by being all directed to compass the death of an innocent and uncomprehending child.

In the longer plays, the same atmosphere of tragedy is present, but the characters are allowed more action, and there is more development of plot, though not always of a very coherent kind. There is also a progressive increase of strength in the human element, the individuality of the characters having more influence on the surrounding destiny in the later plays than in the earlier. *La Princesse Maleine*, the earliest of the series (written in 1890), resembles nothing so much as a nightmare, in which the various personages move blindly and helplessly, uttering incoherent cries, until their fate strikes

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them down. *Pelléas et Mélisande* is a variation on the Paolo and Francesca motive, wholly lacking, it is true, in the force and vivid individuality given to it by Dante, and somewhat irritating, in spite of its pathos, on account of the invertebrate character of the principal personages. In *Alladine et Palomides* the plot in outline is the old story of May and December, the old husband and the young wife, with the intervention of the young and gallant lover; but though the plot is slight and the lover, Palomides, but lightly drawn, there is interest in the character of the old king, Ablamore, there is pathos in the very helplessness of Alladine, and there is beauty in the unselfish spirit of Astolaine, the young daughter of the king by an earlier marriage, for whose hand Palomides had originally been destined. But the finest of all the plays, from a literary point of view, is surely *Aglavaine et Sélysette*, the last, with the exception of two trifles, that M. Maeterlinck has produced, though written so long ago as 1896. It is not likely that it would be successful on the stage; for, in addition to the unreality common to all M. Maeterlinck's work, which suits so ill with the footlights, it has almost no action, its interest, and its beauty too, lying in dialogues which are little more than philosophical disquisitions. There is nothing to be gained by hearing these from the mouth of an actor rather than reading them from the printed book, while some things would be absurd on the stage which we can ignore when we are merely reading them. As a literary drama, however, it is both beautiful and poetic. The three principal characters, Méléandre, Aglavaine, and Sélysette, all command our sympathy. All strive to meet in a spirit of nobility the problem which confronts them, the efforts of the formerly light-hearted Sélysette, little more than a child that she is, to rise to the standard of the maturer wisdom and nobility of Aglavaine being especially touching; and her failure to find any solution save the old one of a voluntary death, if disappointing as philosophy (especially in the light of the position assumed by the author in *Wisdom and Destiny*), is pathetically effective as drama. The whole play, to our mind, is the best piece of dramatic work that M. Maeterlinck has yet done, and it encourages us to hope that, if he should

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return to this form of literature, he may have yet greater gifts to give us.[1]

It is indeed his promise, not less than his performance, that makes M. Maeterlinck an interesting subject of study to the lover of letters. We do not regard him as a writer of phenomenal genius, nor, if his work were to be closed at the point which he has now reached, would he leave a permanent mark on the literature of his generation. But at a time like the present, when the impetus of one age of literary productiveness has spent itself, while its successor is not yet visible, one looks with eagerness for the coming of a writer with a new message, or at least with a new voice. M. Maeterlinck's message, so far as we can yet read it, is not new, but there is much that is new in his method of delivering it; while the message itself seems to be acquiring a greater loftiness of tone, and to be rising from the somewhat dreary and commonplace depths of pessimism and fatalism to a truer conception of the dignity of the human soul and of the mission that is laid upon it. He is at least free from the materialism which, not so much as a definite philosophical creed as in the form of an excessive devotion to the interests and pleasures of a worldly life, is so marked and dangerous a characteristic of the present day. Whether we go the whole way with M. Maeterlinck or not, it is good to be reminded that, after all, it is the spiritual part of our nature that counts, and that it depends greatly on ourselves whether we give it fair play or stunt its development by neglect. It is easier, perhaps, to read M. Maeterlinck in the quiet of a country retreat than in the turmoil of daily work in great cities; but that is just because his thoughts partake

[1] Since this was written M. Maeterlinck has produced another drama, *Monna Vanna*, of which representations would already have been given in this country but for the unexpected intervention of the Censor. Considering the tone and the subjects of the plays which appear on our stage without hindrance, it is surprising (to say the least) to find the line drawn at a drama which, whatever objections may be made to it, at least does not depend for its interest either on the idealisation of vice or on the realistic presentation of it. It is impossible to discuss the work at length here, but it may be briefly said that it is more of a drama and less of a poem or a philosophy than any of its predecessors, and that it shows that M. Maeterlinck is still capable of striking out fresh lines and of attracting the interest of those who care for imaginative literature.

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of the softening and refreshing character of the country, and provide an antidote to over-absorption in material ideas and cares.

If we were wise, we should all make a point of refreshing the spiritual side of our nature, not only by the aid of religion, but by the deliberate maintenance of the practice of reading imaginative literature. Most of us have known that practice at one time or another, generally at the stage when life and literature are alike new, and the glories of the great creative masters of literature are unfolding themselves before us for the first time; but as other interests and professional cares and duties increase, the study of literature is apt to be set aside, and the taste for it is in danger of becoming atrophied. It is not enough to read contemporary fiction, which is, as a rule, merely a form of mental relaxation; nor is it enough to read books of information, such as histories and biographies, or treatises on social and economic science. Least of all is it enough to attempt to assimilate the miscellaneous condensed food offered by magazines at the almost inevitable cost of mental indigestion. What is necessary is to turn to the masters of imaginative literature, whose thoughts move on the higher planes of the eternal verities, who lead us away from the small interests of daily life to the spiritual truths which alone make daily life worth living. Some people can dwell among these spiritual truths without external assistance; but the majority of mankind need such assistance, and can find it in the words of these prophets of our race. Every lover of literature has his own special masters, to whom he can have recourse without fear of disappointment; but while we have, in our own language alone, Shakespeare and Bacon, Milton and Bunyan, George Herbert and Sir Thomas Browne, Wordsworth and Shelley and Keats, Carlyle and Emerson, Ruskin and Pater, Browning and Matthew Arnold, all tastes can surely find something to help and satisfy them. We do not class M. Maeterlinck yet with this company of immortals; but it is because he, like them, is 'on the side of the angels,' that we find his writings stimulative and refreshing, and look forward with hope to the work which he may yet have in store for us in the future.

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ART. VIII.—MISSIONS TO HINDUS.

NO. I.—THE PROBLEMS

1. *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1701-1900. By C. F. PASCOE, Keeper of the Records. (London: Published at the Society's Office, 19 Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W., 1901.)
2. *Brahmanism, or Religious Life and Thought in India as based on the Veda.* Vol. I. 8vo. By SIR M. MONIER-WILLIAMS. (London: Murray [1883] 1887.)
3. *Indian Wisdom.* 8vo. By SIR M. MONIER-WILLIAMS. (London: Allen [1875] 1876. 4th Ed. Luzac in 1893.)

THE bicentenary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the centenary of the Church Missionary Society, the attention bestowed upon our imperial and commercial duties, the widespread interest in foreign lands and peoples, have all helped to put more prominently before the eyes of the world both the reality and importance of missions. The book that we have placed at the head of this article, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, a reissue of the Digest of the society's proceedings published in 1892, and reviewed at that time in *The Church Quarterly Review*, is a wonderful record of continuous and increasing work. To review the whole field in a single article would be an undertaking of doubtful advantage. We propose, as occasion offers or opportunity occurs, to devote articles to the more prominent centres of missionary work, embracing as far as we are able those of other churches besides our own; and first in obligation, as in importance, comes India.

For the study of Missions to Hindus presents, we are encouraged to think, a pre-eminently suitable subject for treatment in a Quarterly Review. They have outgrown their empirical stage. Three centuries and a half have passed over them since Xavier and the Society of Jesus made the first grand, devoted attempt to carry the Gospel to the Indies.

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The work of the Danish Missions, whose greatest hero was Schwartz, may be described, for practical purposes, as synchronous with the century before last. And in the meantime we have not been idle. The grand, enthusiastic mistakes which baffled the noblest efforts of all the earliest missionaries have been marked and turned to account. Their failures, no less than their successes, have formed the fruitful seed out of which new methods have developed. Carey, Martyn, Duff, and French did their work in Northern India on a totally different footing because Xavier and Schwartz in the south had worked, and succeeded, and failed, and died. We have seen many types of missions inaugurated, and worked at, and modified. We understand the conditions of the work, the character of the people of the country, the genius of their National Religion, the system of Caste, which is its outcome—so far as it can ever be said that Europeans understand Orientals.

And now the time has come when the subject can be studied scientifically; when the results of this hard-won experience can be ordered under general principles; when facts can be tabulated and arranged; when methods can be generalized from details; when the historical failures and successes of those who have sacrificed themselves in the cause can be traced to their ultimate sources; when principles can be surely laid out, on conformity to which in the past it can be shown that success has depended; when it is possible for the workers of the future to be dismissed to the task which lies before them, no longer to struggle for themselves, through the discipline of manifold failures, towards adequate conceptions of method, but to enter on their work from the first furnished forth with the lessons of experience. Our object in this series of articles is to furnish a practical contribution towards this so desirable consummation.

For indeed the subject is such that its strictly scientific treatment can be turned to practical account. A marvellous unity and solidarity pervades the Hindu mind throughout its most various developments, moral, social, religious, and philosophical. And it is by remembering and allowing for this, for a homogeneity of character unequalled perhaps else-

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where, that the task of evangelizing the country must be faced by all practical workers.

We are struggling to evangelize a people whose characters, in their personal development, are the outcome of social conditions more disastrously enervating and cramping than any which prevail elsewhere among a nation equally civilized. These social conditions, again, are the outcome of the National Religion; they embody most faithfully, if unconsciously, the Pantheistic conceptions of the Deity, and of the relations of man with the Supernatural, which constitute Hindu theology. This theology, again, in its turn, is the outcome, the absolute counterpart of a system of ontological speculation which is ruthlessly and uncompromisingly consistent; which may be described as a Spiritual Monism, carried out to its logical conclusions at any cost, intellectual or moral. Not a point in the Hindu character, on its moral or personal side, but can be shown to have its absolute counterpart in the intellectual development of the race; not a feature in the Social System but can be traced to the abstract principles presupposed in their theological speculations; not one of the well-known three stages, through which their Religion has passed, but reflects, and that very faithfully, the Metaphysical System which lies behind it.

We are to try, then, to bring before our readers a problem eminently practical, but a problem which can only be apprehended by studying in a great deal of detail, and grouping under general principles, the whole of the manifold conditions under which this world has to be faced by perhaps one sixth of its inhabitants.

The problem is virtually as follows: The Hindu being what he is in the actual conditions of his life—in personal character, in social surroundings, in religious convictions, in philosophical principles, what type of Mission, we have to ask, what methods of missionary work, are most likely to win him to Christ, and to establish him in worthiness of discipleship if haply, by God's grace, he be won?

The problem presenting itself to us under these four general aspects, we propose to present it to our readers, so far as our space will permit, by a method correspondingly

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inclusive. We must deal with Hindu life in its moral and personal developments as these are conditioned and affected by the Social System of Caste, by the Religious Beliefs of Hinduism, and by the abstract Monistic Ontology which lies behind and which accounts for the Religion—not treating any one of the four as, in itself, the object of our research, but endeavouring to elucidate from each some practical apprehension of the problems which missionaries have actually to solve.

For it is on these that our thoughts are to be concentrated: all else will be subsidiary to these. We shall not follow in chronological order the history of any one Mission, or of Indian Missions as a whole; shall not sketch great characters or careers as subjects to be studied for their own sakes; shall not deal with abstract principles, theological, philosophical, or religious, as the topics substantially before us.

Substantially, what we have to put forward is this, and simply this—that the conditions of Hindu life have produced a certain type of character, a certain way of looking upon all things; that they entail certain great disabilities, and certain magnificent capacities; that these three sets of conditions, the social, the religious, the philosophical, are at the bottom reducible to one principle; that the outlook upon life which they entail, and the type of character which they produce have a corresponding unity and solidarity; and that the one grand problem before the missionary, as he approaches the Hindu World, is how to present the Gospel, and how to organize the Church, so that it shall meet with the fullest completeness the needs of the characters thus formed, because it solves with the most perfect success the problems of the system which has formed them.

The characters are the outcome more immediately of the system as a social organization, known to us under the name of Caste. Caste, the entire social system, is the outcome of the religious belief. The religious belief itself is the outcome, the necessary consequence, of a system of abstract thought, one of the most subtil and one of the most consistent which has ever dominated men's intellects.

For attacking this fourfold problem, the most convenient

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point of departure will be found in the system of Caste, the huge social organization which dominates the life of the Hindu, and regulates his every act and abstention.

Here we have the problem as a whole.

Caste looked at simply in itself, in isolation from its proper surroundings, is essentially a Social System. All the same it constitutes the Religion, for every practical purpose, of hundreds of millions of people. And it moulds their personal characters to an absolutely incalculable extent. It stands as the link of connection between religion and personal character, between the religious beliefs which gave it birth and the character which, in its turn, it has produced. It accounts for the Hindu character; it is accounted for by the Hindu Religion. It is more easily grasped than either—is more easily presented in the concrete than the religion out of which it has developed, can be reduced under a shorter description than the personal character it has produced. It forms the key to the entire position which missionary effort has to storm. For it is that which has riveted their Religion as a chain upon the necks of the people. It is what renders the renunciation of Hinduism and the practical acceptance of Christianity an effort more exacting and more acute than aught which could ever, as we believe, be required of any of ourselves.

But, again, there is another recommendation which has swayed us perhaps most of all towards putting it first in our treatment, namely, that Caste, more than anything else, accounts for the marvellous solidarity pervading the entire type of character which constitutes the genius of the people. And it is exactly this prevailing solidarity, this homogeneity of character, which renders the subject of Hinduism, and, in particular, of missions to Hindus, so capable of being treated scientifically.

What, then, exactly is Caste?

It is a gigantic organization, under which all Hindu society is divided irrevocably and once for all into groups which are mutually exclusive, which are regulated solely by descent, and which are incapable of any rearrangement. Under this system every Hindu, by the fact of being born

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into the world, the offspring of the family from which he springs, is constituted a member for life, or for so long as he observes its regulations, of an organized, close corporation. Within this corporation there is absolutely secured to him for life every privilege, social and religious, which Hindu society can confer. Outside of this one group, he possesses not a single right except those which the law can enforce. And even his status at law is dependent to a very great extent upon the rules and customs of his caste.

And along with his standing in the Caste, as the recognized condition of maintaining it, he inherits a set of regulations which order with extraordinary minuteness his every action and abstention. What he may, and may not eat and drink, the calling by which he is to live, the families into which he may marry, the ceremonies at the birth of his children, the adoptions by which he may replace them, the support which they will give him when he is old, their duties to his body after death—these form but a part of the prescriptions imposed on him from his birth to his death, as the conditions of retaining his privileges. So long as he conforms himself to them, he is certain of the necessaries of life, for Caste takes the place of any poor-law; he is sure to find marriages for his children, the one grand duty and anxiety which every Hindu has to face; he retains the two test-rights which outwardly symbolize his status—he may use the common vessels in which the caste-feasts are cooked; he will be handed the common pipe which is passed from mouth to mouth as he sits with his caste-fellows at their gatherings.

But to fail of compliance with the rules, to break them in any serious matter—beyond what is wont to be condoned by fines and degrading penances—is to forfeit them once and for all; and this means social extinction, means something far worse than death. What it is we cannot fully convey, for no European can understand it. One can imagine oneself cut off at a stroke from every one who has ever been dear to him, divorced from husband or wife, a stranger to the children of his bosom, homeless, impoverished, despised, having none to recognize or to eat with him. But these after all are externals, and might leave the soul unashamed. What

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no European can picture is that this should come upon him from without, for the breach of a ceremonial prohibition, and that he should be conscious within that it formed but the outward embodiment of an inward, ineradicable defilement which had cankered him body and soul; that he had not only forfeited his all, as far as this world is concerned, but that he, in his innermost being, was a horror of loathsome pollution to God, to man, to himself; that there had come on him, in one fell swoop, every temporal and eternal anathema by which a human being can be blasted; that there was left out of the shipwreck of his all no plank, no broken piece of the ship, by which to escape to land; nay, that there remained no friendly land to which escape might be made. A Hindu who has lost his caste has not changed his former status for a lower one with similar privileges, has not sunk from one caste to an inferior one: he is a pariah once and for ever. There remain to his nearest and dearest no means of extending him assistance. He could drag them down, he knows, into the gulf which has yawned for himself: no self-sacrifice, no effort, on their part, could raise him one inch towards its edge. If he loves them, and because he loves them, he recognizes as perfectly as they do that it is fixed for Eternity between them.

Such is Caste as a social system, upon its positive and its negative sides. Positively, it secures to each one out of the hundreds of millions of people who make up Hindu society a recognized social status, carrying with it innumerable duties, and securing inestimable privileges, in relation to one group of people. Negatively, it excuses each one from having duties, or recognizing claims, towards a single human being outside that, perhaps, small group. In fact it embodies in a system, it invests with a religious sanction, that question of the natural man which called forth from our Lord Jesus Christ the parable of the Good Samaritan: it allows, it encourages, it inculcates the perpetual selfish inquiry, 'And who is my neighbour?'—that is to say, Who is *not* my neighbour? Where may I fix a limitation, where may I find it fixed for me, on the further side of which no member of the human race has a right to expect at my hands one privilege, social or religious, one genial, brotherly word, one thought of

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sympathetic regard? It intensifies the claims of society within a limited well-defined area. But it does so at the cost of their annihilation outside of that one charmed circle. Beyond it they are simply non-existent—except so far, indeed, as it is open to lower-caste people to lay up treasures in heaven by honouring and succouring Brahmans.

Such is the system of Caste, the social embodiment of Hinduism. But before we can make good to the reader the statement ventured above, that Caste as a social organization is the inevitable outcome of Hinduism regarded as a system of belief, we must bring out as briefly as we may the nature of the Hindu creed on its purely theological side, and must exhibit, in outline at least, the system of Monistic Ontology which underlies, and accounts for, the Religion.

Hinduism, as we know it to-day, is a polytheistic creed, under which the popular worship is addressed to innumerable divinities. But it must always be borne in mind that this later development into Polytheism is the outcome of earlier stages, the first, in a sense, monotheistic, the second altogether pantheistic.

In the earliest stage of all, represented by the Vedic hymns, Hinduism was a worship of God, embodied in Nature, no doubt, but believed to be distinct from and above it. Sun, moon, and rain and rivers, His beneficent gifts to mankind, were adored in the Vedic hymns, but still the Giver and the gifts were not absolutely identified in this worship. He was held to be immanent in them all, but still He was known to transcend them. The pantheistic tendency was there, with all the horrible possibilities which have issued in the Polytheism of to-day. And yet, in its earlier stage, it was a tendency rather than a fact. God still was worshipped as God, though the immediate object addressed was something which God had made.

But a bastard Theism such as this was bound to make way for something worse. When once the line had been crossed which marks off the Creator from His creatures, when once any creaturely being was prayed to instead of the Creator, it became but a question of time when a thoroughgoing system of Pantheism should displace this half-hearted

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Theism. And so He who had been worshipped in Nature became actually identified with Nature in the mind of His Hindu worshippers. The Vedas, with their worship of God, addressed as immanent in His works, but known to transcend them all, gave way to the Vedantic books, in which the transcendence is lost and the immanence is all in all.

One might say of the Pantheism of the Vedantas that it looks upon Nature as subsisting by the immanence of the Deity in all things, and that it looks upon the Deity Himself as subsisting in virtue of that immanence. As all things have their being in Him, in the conceptions of a thoroughgoing Pantheism, so it were equally true to say that the Pantheist looks upon the Deity as having His only subsistence in the One-and-All of Nature.

And so the door is set open for the hideous entry of Polytheism. For if God be identified with Nature, why, next, should Nature as a whole be alone regarded as God? Why not Nature in her every part? If the world be God, and God be the world, then why is a stone not God, and why should God not be a stone? If He be absolutely immanent in the whole, He must be equally immanent in the parts. And a part can be fashioned to resemble Him, or, in some symbolical fashion, to represent Him. If you tell an uneducated worshipper that the Universe as a whole is Divine, you convey little meaning to his mind. But show him the sculptured symbols, and tell him that 'These be thy gods,' and you will soon have a fervid worshipper where before you had a wondering half-believer.

And so, by a terrible nemesis, the bastard Theism of the Vedas, in which God was worshipped *in* Nature, passed on through the Pantheism which succeeded, and in which He was worshipped *as* Nature, to the third stage, the popular Polytheism, in which both God and Nature disappear from the religion of the people, though the educated may worship them still; when an innumerable troop of divinities crowd in to take their place, the embodiments of aspects of Nature, above all of human nature, and that in its least adorable qualities. For of Polytheism at least it is true that man makes God in his own image, and that the image of man himself, thus

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projected on the canvas of his imagination, will resemble its human creator much more in his degradation than in his glory.

There are thus three stages or phases in which we are acquainted with Hinduism—the *quasi*-theistic stage, represented by the Vedic hymns, with their addresses to natural objects as embodiments of the Creator who transcends them; the wholly Pantheistic phase, represented in literature by the Upanishads, in which nature is identified with God and God is identified with Nature; the Polytheistic stage of the Puranas, the legends of the gods and their adventures, in which stocks and stones are adored as indwelt by, nay, as being, divinities—meet symbols of the beings represented, beings in whom crime and lust are held up for admiration and imitation. It is in this final stage that Hinduism has to be dealt with by the missionary in approaching the uneducated classes and the women of every class.

But it must be plain to the intelligent reader that in this, and in its every stage the mind and the thought of the Hindu are essentially pervaded by Pantheism—Pantheism latent in the Vedas, for all their acknowledgment of God—Pantheism confessed in the Upanishads, in its most developed and logical form—Pantheism developed in the Puranas, with their innumerable, materialized divinities.

But this religious system of Pantheism is, again, but the logical development of the consistent Monism in philosophy which conditions all Hindu thought.

A Hindu's conception of existence, and therefore his ideal of thinking, is essentially what we speak of as Monism. His notion of a satisfying ontology is the reduction of all that exists to a single, all-inclusive conception which shall leave nothing not embraced within its scope. A metaphysic, to be worthy of the name in the eyes of a Hindu thinker, must bring all things that are under a single category of thought, whether they be things on earth or things in heaven. It must bring the Infinite and the finite under a single all-embracing conception which shall abolish the distinction between them; it must get rid of any ultimate distinction between the material and the spiritual; it must reduce the One and the many to an absolute, all-inclusive unity; it must admit of no

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distinction between the thinker and the objects of his thought, whether the thinker be God or man, and whether the object of thought be the visible universe around or the conjectured, invisible Creator, by Whom it was called into being. Monism, then, in metaphysics, the solution of the problem of existence by the final reduction of all things to a unity of being and of conception—such, on the philosophical side, is the essence of Hindu thinking.

It will be evident, we think, to the reader how close and how inevitable is the connection between the philosophy and the theology of Hinduism. They represent one tendency of thought as it issues in two manifestations. The theology and the philosophy alike are Monistic in the strictest sense. They represent, in two lines of speculation, one uncompromising intellectual determination to find at every cost a single, all-embracing conception, under which all objects of thought, under which all forms of being, may be reduced to an absolute unity. Does this mean, on the speculative side, that the thinker, with his intuition of personality, be resolved into an impersonal One-and-All, in which his very identity shall disappear? The sacrifice is unhesitatingly made: the personal being of man is declared to be a mundane illusion, a moment in the dream of the unconscious. Does it demand, on the theological side, that the Being of God the Creator shall cease to be regarded as transcendent, as distinct from the creation which He made? Then, with a like uncompromising consistency, He is blotted from the horizon of His universe as anything distinct from His creatures: He becomes a mere immanent Deity, whose Being is held to be no being apart from his mundane manifestations, who finds consciousness, nay, who finds existence in the act of creation alone. Does it demand on the ontological side that the universe, with its thousandfold variety, with the tyrannical material insistence which forces its presence upon us, be reduced to a speculative unity, indistinguishable from God and from ourselves? Then the doctrine of illusion comes in: it is *maya*, but a *quasi*-existence: it is a moment in the dream of the Divinity: so long as He thinks it, it is; if He cease to think it, it is no more. 'The Creator and the Destroyer are

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one'—so they say of the great god Shiva; he conceives of a universe and it is; he conceives of it no more, and it is gone. Does it demand on the religious side that the consciences of uneducated worshippers be assisted by symbols, or by Divinities, adoration of which shall be easy? Then it takes the first workable stock, or the first suggestive stone, and it says that since all things are One, since God is everywhere and in all things, therefore God is in this stone, this stock, with its suggestiveness, is God; for God is all things that are, and all things that exist are Divine. Does it demand on the moral side, that but One Will be acknowledged in the universe, to account for whatever comes to pass? Then the most imperious moral intuition which pervades man's thoughts about himself must give way to the demand for unification: man must cease to regard himself as a sinner, must acknowledge no Holy One, sinned against. For if there be but one will in the universe the very conception of sin is cut away, and all that man is, and that man does is but the outcome, here and in time, of that One All-pervading Will which knows no time and no space: then man's worst deeds and his best are not his in any such sense as shall leave sin really sin. They are not only willed by God, so far as there is a God; they are the very acts of God himself, or at least of that Totality of Being in which both God and man are but unreally, impersonally immanent. Then God and man, holiness and unholiness, sin and goodness all merge in the Impersonal One-and-All, which cannot be moral or immoral, which is simply and inevitably non-moral.

There is little need, we think, to point out how a system such as this is opposed to the primary assumptions upon which Christianity is based. A Christian can accept no philosophy which abolishes the fundamental distinction that marks off the finite from the Infinite and matter from spirit. His consciousness of himself as a thinker, distinct from the objects of his thought, is to him the very primary conception which reduces the chaos of sensation to the order of realized knowledge. His conception of the manifoldness without him is the necessary correlative, it is true, to the unity which he finds within. But it is essentially as dis-

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tinguished from one another, as counterparts to each other's distinctness, that he knows the One and the many.

Above all things, to him the First Cause can be no Impersonal Absolute, indistinguishable from all that it has produced. To the Christian God must be Personal, or He is not what we mean by Divine.

Philosophy, in a word, to be Christian, must retain as its fundamental assumption an unfaltering belief in personality, in that distinction of Me from Not-me, which is the ultimate basis of personality—and that both in the region of the finite, in which we move ourselves, and in that other realm of the Infinite, without whose distinction from the finite philosophy contradicts Christianity.

Approached from the intellectual side, there is much to be said for sheer Monism. It has its numerous votaries in Europe—both a quasi-spiritual Monism such as that which we have described as Vedantic, and a rigidly materialistic Monism, approaching nearer to the Buddhist position.

Once blur the fundamental distinctions which Christianity assumes as axiomatic, between spirit and matter, Infinite and finite, Creator and creature, and it is mainly a matter of temperament which factor of these primary antinomies be resolved into non-existence—whether Pantheism resolve the creature into being merely a mode of the Creator, or Materialism resolve the Creator into a figment of creaturely imagination—whether Pantheism resolve the finite into a moment in the Being of the Infinite, or Materialism look upon the Infinite as merely a high-sounding title for conveying the limitations of our thought; whether Pantheism look upon matter as being merely a background for spirit, or Materialism explain away spirit as a convenient unifying term for gathering up into a whole our permanent possibilities of sensation. In any case, a consistent Monist will say that Christianity as a system has nothing whatever to teach him.

As we shall see in future articles, it is essentially from the spiritual side that the aggression upon Hinduism must be made. Suffice it to point out here how invulnerable it may hold itself to be upon purely ontological considerations. It

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has, indeed, a rigid consistency to which the categories of the Christian are unable, intellectually, to pretend—if only because, in strict logic, to insist upon the existence of the finite is so far to limit the Infinite; to believe in an Infinite at all is to leave no room for the finite.

And now we have to justify our contention that Caste, as a social arrangement, is the natural and inevitable outcome of the Monism of Indian metaphysics and the Pantheism of Indian religion.

Two points stand out luminous, we hope, from our survey of its moral characteristics, and these we may take, from which to start.

First, regarded as a code of obligations, it is essentially based upon Collectivism; it makes the group, and not the individual, the unit of its whole moral system. And, second, as the consequence of this, it obliterates once and for all the distinction, so familiar to ourselves, between moral and positive obligations. The connection of these two characteristics is obvious, we think, at a glance. Let the individual cease to be the unit; let every obligation of duty put forward its demands on our obedience under no 'Categorical Imperative,' of eternal force and application, based on no first principles of right which apply to all men for all time, but simply as a single item in a code prescribed to oneself by the accident of birth into a group—let this be once fully effected and it is plain that moral duty, as distinguished from positive obligation, is conclusively banished from one's horizon.

And such, in effect, is the result. To be born into an hereditary group, in which thieving, and thieving alone, is recognized as one's ancestral mode of living—this is no hypothetical case, but one which may be seen in the concrete—to be born into such a caste means to accept as one's rule of life that to prey upon the property of one's neighbours is as distinctly a virtue in oneself as it is a virtue in the members of other castes to toil at the ancestral occupations which they, like oneself, have inherited. Between their obligations and one's own there is absolutely no moral difference; because each has presented itself to the individual as the form of positive obligation which he was sent into the world to fulfil.

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Right means, then, in the mouth of a Hindu, conformity to the rules of his Caste, and wrong means violation of such conformity.

To bring this out by illustrations.

A caste-regulation may be violated involuntarily as well as wilfully. The touch of a low-caste man who is forced up against you in a crowd, the shadow of such a man, or of any unclean beast, passing over your food as you cook it, will render you ceremonially unclean. We could offer instances more lurid, but let the following suffice. The writer had a friend, a Colonel in the Staff Corps, by whose side, at the battle of Maiwand, a high-caste man was shot down. As he gasped in the agonies of death, and called out, half delirious, for water, the Colonel gave him drink from his own flask, and in the act of swallowing it he died—when the Colonel overheard, to his horror, how the sepoy next in the ranks, with a gesture of shuddering hands, cried aloud: 'His caste is lost!'

Far, far worse obliquities, which need not be touched on here, are the result, in the Hindu character, of this confusion of the positive with the moral, this obliteration of the moral by the positive.

Now, whence this extraordinary perversion, pervading the character of the Hindu, of a people whose intellectual advancement is as lofty as that of the Brahmans? To what in their character as a whole can we trace this total obliteration of a principle so patent to ourselves?

It might be said, we admit, with much truth that group-morality, with all that it entails, is far from peculiar to India, that it is found in every civilization at a certain stage of development. Yes, at a certain stage of development. But therein lies the essence of the question. Why is it that we find it in India at quite another stage of development, compatible with a degree of advancement which ought to have caused it to slough off, and to make room for something more adequate? Why is it that it is adopted and sanctioned, with tremendous religious enforcements, among a people so essentially civilized as the educated classes of India? Why is it that the completeness of its application is so absolutely drastic as it is?

A contrast will exhibit the *rationale*. The Jew has erred,

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and erred grossly, in his exaltation of ceremonial obligations, to the depression of weightier matters. But there has always remained for him a possibility of total recovery, an immense immediate mitigation, the result of his rigid Theism. He has a code of moral obligation based deep upon the Character of Jehovah; and to this he can continually recur, to save him from losing altogether his belief in the supremacy of the Moral, in the comparative unimportance of the Ceremonial.

Now this is exactly what is wanting in the case of the slave of Caste. So far from being modified or ameliorated by an ultimate sense of obligation owed by man to a Personal Deity, the moral system of Caste is the outcome, the social expression of a drastic, uncompromising Pantheism.

This comes out into lurid relief in those hideous immoral legends about the gods and their many adventures which are the standing opprobrium of India. How is it, a Christian exclaims, that the frantic destructiveness of a Kali, the horrible immoralities of a Krishna, are attributed in all sober seriousness, by the mass of their innumerable adorers, to beings held to be divine? How is it, as we are always being told, that no virtue can be too sublime to be inculcated in some Hindu book, yet no crime can be too revolting to be attributed to some Hindu god?

The explanation is simplicity itself when one has grasped the Pantheistic principle which underlies, and which accounts for, the whole. God and man, to a Hindu Pantheist, are merged in, are but realisations of, the non-moral, the impersonal One-and-All which can alone be really held to exist. In the conceptions of such a believer, to be and to be divine are identical: to exist is all one with to be divine. All that is, or that seems to be at all, is only a manifestion, an effortless, inevitable realisation, of some of the infinite possibilities which lie, have ever lain, must ever lie in the womb of the impersonal Infinite. Whatever exists, then, is divine. Were it not a manifestation of the Divine, then it would not be at all. All facts, under a system like this, must impartially be considered divine facts. Since kindness is a fact, it is divine; and since vindictiveness is equally a fact, vindictiveness too is a divine fact. Since purity exists,

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it is divine, is directly to be attributed to God. And since impurity, alas! exists also, it too must be set down to the Divinity. To say that aught is true of Humanity is to have said that it is true of Divinity. For between the two there is no real distinction. God, Nature, individual men, you yourself, all you are and all you do, are regarded in the outlook of Pantheism as alike manifestations, realisations, of the one impersonal Being, which is Infinite, which is Absolute, which is all things. Apart from manifestations of the divine, nothing else has any existence. And apart from such realisation in the detail, in what we call the finite, the Divine, the Absolute, the One-and-All has none other than a negative existence. It exists because all things alike are predicable of it, and are actually to be found in it. It, He, the Divinity, the All, has an existence so absolute, so universal that to predicate aught of it in detail is to limit it, to tie it down to the particular, and so to be unworthy of its Infinity. And therefore, if you speak of it as holy without admitting that it may equally be unholy, you are reducing yourself to the utter contradiction of limiting, by your particular predication, what you have assumed at the outset to be illimitable. Call God loving, and deny that He is vindictive, and so far forth you have limited His infinity. Call Him pure, and deny that He is the opposite, and again you have contradicted yourself in terms. And so everything, moral or immoral, is alike to be predicated of the divine, if you think of the divine in the abstract, may be predicated of some god in especial, if you think of Divinity in the concrete—as alone the uneducated conceive of it.

For God, in the thought of a Hindu, is no transcendent Being, with any conceivable existence apart from his immanence in all things. By this immanence do colour and life accrue to that absolute Being which, otherwise, apart from such immanence, were indifferent, were colourless, in fact were nought—pure being all one with pure nothing. Man, Nature, God himself are, then, to the Hindu pantheist not merely 'such stuff as dreams are made of.' They are, in the ultimate analysis, but the dream of the Divine One-and-All. He dreams of a universe, and it is, so far as it can be said to

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exist. The dream passes, and the universe with it. God conceives of me, and I am. He ceases to conceive of me, and I vanish. I conceive of God, and, for me, He is. Nor has He any absolute existence, distinguishable from absolute nothing, except as He is thus conceived of.

No possible relation of responsibility, no divine categorical imperative can be based on this metaphysic of nothingness which is also and essentially pure Being. There is no transcendent Divinity, to Whom the universe and man owe obedience. For he cannot be distinguished in fact from the universe, and from man, which have to pay it. Nor can they be distinguished from Him, for they are but His manifestations. They have no responsibility to Him, for apart from Him they do not exist. He makes no requirements of them, for, after all, they are but Himself in some one of His possible manifestations. We can neither obey nor disobey Him in any real sense of the words ; for all that we render or refuse is His own very act or abstention, realised in and through us. The very distinction itself between being and not-being, between action and abstention, between actual and possible, belongs to the half-lights-whole-shadows which make up the illusory consciousness of beings such as ourselves. They cannot be posited at all of the absolute, illimitable One, of which alone true existence can be predicated—so far as it is predicable at all.

We have dwelt with much persistence upon this, in the hope of conveying to the reader the hopeless moral tangle in which Pantheism involves its votaries, the web of realised illusions which the missionary has to clear up before he reaches the consciences of his hearers.

Mr. French, afterwards Bishop of Lahore, was addressing a Hindu audience in one of the bazaars at Agra, on 'righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come,' when one of them, a Hindu fakir, asked what was the good of it all, since 'as the dolls are made to dance in a puppet-show, so man is made to dance at the will of the Deity ; so that there is neither sin nor virtue, nor joy nor sorrow ; in truth it is *maya*, an empty show.'

Responsibility and free, moral choice, the turning-points

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of theistic morality, are once and for all ruled out by the system embodied in Caste; much more the doctrine of grace, of a mystical divine assistance enabling the will of the creature.

We must pause for a moment over this. It is by contrast with the doctrine of grace—nay, why should we not go further?—it is by contrast with experiences of grace that one can learn in its most chilling desolation what Caste-morality means. To have a pattern shown us as in the Mount, an ideal set up for our attainment, Divine and Human at once, and then to be set forward to its attainment equipped with a power not our own; to have the Spirit of Jesus within, enabling us to rise in our practice to some imitation of His example; to know that every effort of our will can be guided, informed, sustained by the Might of Omnipotence itself; to believe that in the ultimate result, begun here, effected hereafter, we can be raised into a region of holiness where the stirrings of the grace which is given us shall be blended with the efforts of our hearts till obedience become absolute and spontaneous—this it is, this ineffable blessedness, this dignity, this beatitude, this triumph, which is offered to the Christian in the Gospel. To love as we know that we have been loved, to resolve every jarring antinomy between that which we owe to our neighbour and that which our neighbour owes us, until all be resolved into a harmony in which mutual love reign supreme—this, again, is what lies before the Christian, doing all things in Christ enabling him.

Set this, the experience of Christians, side by side with the dreary abstraction, with the 'void and formless Infinite' which constitutes the All of the Hindu—in which there is no God, no neighbour, distinguishable from yourself or from one another; nay, in which there is no self and no universe, but all is a dream, an illusion.

What sanction—nay, what possibility—is left, whereon to build up your life?

Here it is that Caste steps in. Be the system what it will ontologically, be the religion what it will, in the ultimate and abstract analysis, life goes on, and it cries aloud for regulation. In this fancied existence of ours, in this Divine-human

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dream of a Universe, there are needs, there are dependencies, there are relations. That dream of the One-and All is self-realised not only in me, but in other dream-creatures like myself. They are around me, they affect me, they touch me; my dream at least includes their existence, their dream somehow trenches upon mine. And where there are contacts and relations, be they real or be they illusions, there needs must be some regulation to order their daily disposal. It cannot be found, it is plain, in any relation of obedience, as Christians understand the word, to a Being transcending us and ruling us. For obedience means liberty, means choice, presupposes a Ruler and a ruled; and all these are, *ex hypothesi*, excluded. Nor can God bid us love our fellow creatures, as He has Himself loved us: for this presupposes a distinction between Him and us and them, which is, *vi terminorum*, ruled out.

Caste lays, then, a basis for morality in the only bed that is left for it. It abandons once and for all the very thought of the individual man as the unit of social existence, the very thought of personal liberty as the turning-point of social relations. It takes a basis of absolute Collectivism as that whereon to build. It seizes on the root-conception which underlies so much of morality in early civilisations, and treats every human being as simply a member of a group. It leaves him no standing-ground, no choice, as a separate, responsible personality. It substitutes a corporate rule of life for any, even rudimentary, conception of personal liberty or choice. A morality of detail is still possible where a morality of principle is excluded. There may be an apotheosis of the Positive, where the Moral has been depressed out of existence. And this is the essence of Caste—a morality of positive obligations, a morality of detail without principle. It takes the primitive conception of the group, and crystallises it, under the influence of Pantheism, to survive into a state of civilisation which ought ages ago to have sloughed it off. And it enforces it under the awful anathemas which we have tried to make real to our readers.

This is why Caste stands forth as the deadliest of all the opponents which the Gospel has to grapple with in India.

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It may form in the minds of the many no conscious embodiment in society of the Monism of Hindu metaphysics, or of the Pantheism of Hindu religion. But none the less surely or firmly—the more surely, more firmly, perhaps, for being embodied in a form purely social—does it chain the conceptions of the people to the limited, positive code embodied in, 'Who is my neighbour?'

For it is absolutely consistent with itself—as much so as it is absolutely homogeneous with the religion and the philosophy which underlie it. The caste-group marks the limit of obligation, because it, and it alone, gives alike the foundation of the obligation and the sanction by which it is enforced. Your duty is owed to the caste, and you owe it a different duty from what members of other castes are called to acknowledge to them. Your duty presents itself, that is, under no categorical imperative which is binding on all men alike; with none of the awful sanction which is the outcome of eternal principles. No 'Stern daughter of the Voice of God' has addressed herself, could ever address herself, to the votary and the slave of Caste. For him there can never come the days

> 'When love is an unerring life,
> And joy its own security.'

For him there can be no 'stern Lawgiver' to wear 'The Godhead's most benignant grace.' For the eternal principle of duty has for him no meaning, no existence. The sole reason to him for his obligations is the accident of his birth into his caste.

Nor does all this stand as anything *μετέωρος*, accidental, isolated in his life. It has grown, and could not but grow out of the categories, the presuppositions, from which there have developed for his race their philosophy, their religion, their character. Monism in philosophy, Pantheism in religion, Caste in society—they are absolutely linked to one another, form one homogeneous whole of a ruthless uncompromising solidarity.

Now it is to consciences thus cramped and debauched, into lives thus enervated and depressed, that the message of the Gospel has to be brought. With no morality but group-

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obligations, positive, based on no principle; with consciences accustomed from childhood to learn from the legends of the gods that the divine is only linked with goodness as it includes the highest with the lowest, as it is alike the fairest and the foulest which man can devise or carry out, because both, because all things, are divine. Thus must Hindus approach the Gospel. Or rather—for they do not approach it with any spontaneous movement—thus the Gospel must find the Hindus when it makes its approaches to them.

And it is Caste, their social theory of practice, which embodies all the hideous affirmations, which enforces all the ghastly negations that follow from the religion and the ontology.

The type of character produced by Caste, and the methods by which it must be dealt with, we reserve for treatment hereafter.

ART. IX.—RELIGION AND POLITICS IN FRANCE.

1. *Histoire de la Deuxième République.* Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE. (Paris: Plon et Nourrit.)
2. *Histoire de Montalembert.* Par le P. LECANUET. (Paris: Poussielgue.)
3. *Histoire du Cardinal Pie.* Par MGR. BAUNARD. (Paris: Poussielgue.)
4. *Histoire de Louis Veuillot.* Vols. I. and II. Par EUGÈNE VEUILLOT. (Paris: Poussielgue.)
5. *Pétition contre la Franc-Maçonnerie.* Par M. PRACHE. (Paris.)
6. *Journal Officiel*, 1901 et 1902.

IT is not easy to form a right idea of the actual situation of a country not our own. Certainly a fact is a fact, and no amount of reasoning can make it different from what it is in reality. But a fact is not one thing, it is many; and if we miss some important particulars of the background or the atmosphere we are in great danger of taking a wrong view

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of what may really be the essential point. When it is not something familiar we are dealing with, and the question is of distant events taking place among people widely different from ourselves in language, habits, and historical surroundings, we mostly approach the facts not merely with *lacunæ* in our element of judgment, but with preconceived ideas which are still more detrimental to a correct opinion.

Such seems to be the case with regard to the situation of Catholicism in France. Many an Englishman who has honestly tried to gain information about it on the spot fails, because he forgets the history of the political parties in that country, or because the apparent similarity of names is almost fatally misleading. A prejudice against which he ought to be on his guard is an over-estimation, extremely common in England, of French statesmen—or, we should rather say, politicians—and consequently an irrepressible tendency to misjudge any opposition to them. Contrast the tone of the French and the English press at the formation of a new French Cabinet. The men who are coming into office may have proved for months the bitterest opponents to those who are just retiring; but the *Daily News* as well as the *Times* is sure to give the details of their biography and their political action with the same abundance, and to speak of their abilities with the same gravity which they showed a year or six months before when introducing their predecessors. The English press of nearly every shade is always Ministerialist when it approaches French politics. Now, on the contrary, read the political appreciations of so moderate a paper as the *Débats*. You will not find the scornful tone of the *Lanterne* or the *Autorité*; but even should the Premier be as close a friend of M. Ribot as M. Méline used to be, you will seldom see the leaders rise above mere approval without any reference to personal power. The reason is that in France men hardly ever believe in politicians, and that because their temperament is not political. They have come too recently to democracy; they value it rhetorically, but have not learned as yet to make practical use of it. Mr. Bodley is one of the few foreigners who see this clearly, and his judgment of French affairs is of quite exceptional accuracy. One particular instance will show more

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than anything else how little the French care for professional politicians. Although it is true that they do not lack political reminiscences: and that hundreds of ex-Ministers, from Villemain to Emile Ollivier, have written their memoirs; yet they are almost totally without that which is so plentiful in England—biographies or even studies of politicians. The only exception is on the Catholic side, and if you take up a book on Lacordaire, Montalembert, or Veuillot, you will notice at once that the devotional or psychological point of view is predominating. There is no history of Gambetta, or Thiers, or even Guizot. The enormous literature daily accumulating about Napoleon is anecdotal or at best psychological. A series tracing the democratic tendency from the Revolution to the present time never occurred to any publisher. The existence of strong political currents is as unknown to them as the distinction between a Liberal and a Conservative policy is familiar in England. How could it be otherwise when a man like M. Ribot was considered five years ago as a supporter of the most decided anti-clerical views—and, indeed, passed such an anti-clerical law as the *Loi d'abonnement*—whereas, at the same time, M. Waldeck-Rousseau was thought a pattern of moderation?

Consequently English canons of judgment should not be applied to French statesmen, nor again to their opponents. The latter ought no more to be regarded as mere malcontents than the former as men of genius and perfect integrity. Opposition in France can be just as reasonable, honest and straightforward as it is in England, and it is wrongly imagined to be always clerical in tendency, violent or underhand in action. We have seen it too often looked upon as one and the same thing as Royalism or, lately, Nationalism. It is intimately connected with the cause of Liberalism, or even Catholicism; but we should carefully sever it from any anticonstitutional claims. Both Royalists and Nationalists have laid themselves out to perpetuate the old fallacy that religion was closely bound to their cause, and their opponents have never been at great pains to force it on public opinion that in reality the Church has thrown in her lot with theirs. Years and years may still elapse before this lamentable error is corrected.

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Some religious orders, like the Jesuits, can hardly free themselves from their connection with the aristocracy, and consequently Royalism. That is perfectly true. Some ten Assumptionist monks, not overwise, and dazzled by duchesses who spoke them fair while despising them, were more or less compromised in the Royalist plot. This is also true, although its meaning might be easily exaggerated. But is the Church essentially hostile to the republican form of government, antidemocratic in tendency, and secretly yearning after a Restoration? This we are prepared to deny.

We could not have been so positive ten or twelve years ago. Just as the nobility continue to look for a 'change of wind,' because 'the republic does not agree with the French temperament,' so the older clergy used to believe with quite as much reason that democracy was essentially antagonistic to Catholicism. They had been told in vile Latin, but with great syllogistic display, that the Church was, and could not but be, a Monarchy; they had been nursed in the doctrine of Divine Right, and had thought of the Comte de Chambord as of David, the anointed of the Lord. How could they accept a doctrine which was associated in their minds with the worst excesses of the worst days in our history? Do what he might, M. Grévy was the descendant of Robespierre. Yet the death of the Comte de Chambord was a great shock to those loyal minds. He was as good as his right was unquestionable. But the Orleans family who succeeded to his rights had been his enemies, and when blood was mentioned it was rather in connection with Philippe Egalité, the murderer of Louis XVI., than with the Regent, a disreputable cousin of Louis XV. It is not easy to find many allusions to the Divine Right, even in the *Gazette de France*, after the death of Chambord, and the clerical organs were content with calling God's wrath on the persecutors without praying for a Judith. However, the commotion was great among those ancients when Cardinal de Lavigerie had the 'Marseillaise' played by a band in his palace, and gave the first loyal toast to the Republic; greater still when the Encyclical *Nobilissima Gallorum* enjoined on the Catholics of France sincere submission to the Government, and unreserved acceptance of

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the Constitution. Most of the elderly clergy made their act of faith with a heavy heart; and even at the present day, when the hope of a Restoration is dead and gone, they still find it hard that the Pope should have 'given his blessing to the Revolution.'

But it was quite different with their juniors, especially such as had never known any Government but the Republic or those last years of the Empire when the Republic was an ideal. In one seminary the most important passage in the Encyclical was greeted with loud applause, an extraordinary outburst in such a place; the Catholic press, especially papers like the *Univers*, which had always preferred the religious to the political standpoint, exhibited unbounded joy at being released from the monarchist hold; and there was throughout the country a feeling of relief, together with a conviction that the 'new spirit' which M. Spuller was to hail before long, would soon animate all the country. Most of the pastorals issued by bishops on the occasion would give evidence that the diffidence of the Church towards the Republic, and her apparent loyalty to the Orleanist cause, sprang more from mental timidity than from real attachment.

Since 1881, the number of the *ralliés* in the Chamber has not increased as it was expected it would, and the anticlerical measures passed, not only by Radicals like M. Bourgeois but by so-called Moderates like M. Ribot or M. Waldeck-Rousseau, have gone far to strengthen an idea that Republicanism, or even Parliamentarianism, must always conflict with liberty. At the present moment there may be in the minority a lurking craving for a reaction, were it to bring a dictator instead of a constitutional monarch; but it is confined to the Chamber or to that section of the electorate which leads the rest with purposely vague formulas. It would be difficult to find, even in Brittany, a really Royalist constituency. As to the clergy, it has become more and more thoroughly Republican.

Of course, personal intercourse with priests is the shortest way to an accurate knowledge of their political standpoint, and the completion of Mr. Bodley's work on France will be a great boon to English readers who cannot undertake for themselves the investigation on which he is engaged. How-

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ever, proofs are not wanting to convince the most sceptical that if there is any fear of a reaction it has nothing to do with the secular clergy. The two papers most widely circulated among them are the *Univers*, whose price is comparatively high, and the very cheap *Croix*, which reaches probably ninety-five out of a hundred presbyteries. Both are, of course, Opposition papers. But after reading them every day for more than fifteen years we do not think any trace of anti-constitutional feeling could be found in them, except an occasional snobbish allusion in the *Croix*. They have many times supported Republicans against Royalist candidates. Another fact is extremely significant. Before 1891 parish priests or even bishops would every now and then get rapped on the knuckles for public abuse of the Government. Since that date instances of such imprudence have become very rare; and when a bishop does happen to get *décrété d'abus* it is always for speaking his mind too freely about some particularly rough application of the *loi d'abonnement*, the seizure of a convent, or something of that sort, and not for opposing the Government. Besides, there have been (as far as we are aware) not more than six or seven such instances in the last ten years.

The chief sign of the deep revolution which has changed the clergy from a distinctly Royalist body into one as distinctly adverse to a Restoration is the extraordinary spread of what used to be called Christian Democracy or the Democratic movement. It has been going on very quietly, and has remained practically unknown abroad; but its influence is nevertheless the greatest that has modified the clerical spirit since the Middle Ages; and when it appears that for twenty or thirty years it has been connected with a doctrinal progress of a decidedly Liberal character, the difference between the new and the old state of things will be revealed as enormous.

What is known in England of the Christian Democrats is little more than the presence in the Chamber of a man whose gentleness and straightforwardness made him beloved in all quarters, but whom the members of the Right call Platonic, whenever they do not call him a dangerous Utopian. Yet the

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Abbé Lemire is only one among many; and though he has unquestionable insight, a delicate if not always very conscious understanding of the times, had it not been for some very lucky circumstances, he would have remained obscure in some Flemish village, dreaming dreams of a political millennium. There are throughout the country hundreds and thousands who do the same work on the same principles, but on a smaller scale. Nay, the same aspirations towards a closer union of the priest and the workman, religion and democracy, are rife in the very stronghold of religious Conservatism, the diocesan seminaries; and they are not only fostered, but disciplined and codified under a form most likely to appeal to young intellects under a scholastic training. Many professors, many bishops, do not see favourably, or even with equanimity, the diffusion of theological conclusions, the principles of which were unheard of in their time. In September last the Bishop of Quimper, in Brittany, prohibited the *Justice Sociale*, an organ of Catholic democracy, and instructed his priests to see that the younger men did not presume to buy it even at home during the vacation. Two well-known priests, the Abbé Maignen, in Paris, and Canon Delassus, in Lille, periodically set forth the dangers to which the Democrats expose the doctrine and the hierarchy. Quite recently the loudest and most pugnacious French bishop, Mgr. Turinaz, startled everybody by the virulence of his denunciations. But books, pastorals and prohibitions are poor work against tendencies appealing at the same time to the sense of justice and the longing for the activity of youth. Seminary after seminary has let in books and magazines which have led to the creation of a debating society dedicated to the study of social questions, and sometimes to the establishment of a special chair to the same effect. Most of the young men ordained in the last few years possess a very definite knowledge of such questions, and view pastoral theology chiefly as the method of making Christian Socialism more popular. Their ideas can be summed up as follows: The form of the Constitution is secondary in the eyes of the clergy. The Government ought to leave liberty, and even give reasonable help, to the Church in the fulfilment of her mission; but it matters little whether

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the Government be a monarchy or a republic. Consequently the action of the Church ought to be exclusively religious, and not political. Yet social action cannot be separated from religious action, properly understood. In fact social ethics should be part of any Christian moral theology, and they are regarded as such in the widely circulated books of Professor Potier, of Liège, and Père Antoine, a Jesuit. Pope Leo XIII. himself held this opinion when he was still Archbishop of Perugia, and gave his views something like dogmatic value by the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, the charter of Christian Democrats. In this document, as well as in the more scholastic books mentioned above, economics are closely allied to theology. The well-being of the working classes depends on the question of salary, which, in its turn, depends on the vexed question of the valuation of merchandise. The general conclusions are that the workman has a right to live by his work, which means not only his own sustenance but that of his family, and that his master is in justice bound to give him a sufficient salary to keep him and his own decently. More advanced Democrats add various theories as to participation in the profits, etc., and generally agree about the necessity of income taxation. Whatever their system on these more speculative points, they hold that practically the action of the priests concerns the poorer classes. Hence a great many attempts to become in touch with them—which is not always easy when they have been long left to themselves—and various devices, such as syndicates, savings banks, reading associations, etc., etc., have been started, from which the priest is not *a priori* excluded. On the whole, pastoral work, especially in towns, tends more and more to become parallel with the Socialist action. This course has given excellent results, but it is not easy to reconcile to it the very people to whom the clergy used to look for help. The aristocracy of country *châteaux* is no more pleased with it than the magnates in manufacturing cities, and this discontent is only calculated to carry priests faster to the pole towards which they were naturally moving. Being Democrats, can they be other than Republicans? The same social principles had made Lamennais and Lacordaire ardent Republicans at a time when

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Rome was far from suspecting she would ever have to approve of their ideas. At present, a priest born of the people, working among the people, cannot but think that the Pope yielded to evidence when he freed the Catholics from their old Royalist ties. He sees clearly that a Restoration would mean altercations by which he would be a dupe, and people whom he despises sole benefiters. In short, the French clergy are generally and naturally Republicans.

This fact being admitted, how are we to account for another quite as undeniable, viz. the persistent hostility of the Republican Governments to the Church? By elucidating this we shall give the key to many an event in contemporary history otherwise inexplicable. A Republican is not necessarily anti-Clerical. The Republic of 1848 was more Clerical than the Government of Louis Philippe, and had its 'trees of liberty' solemnly blessed with incense and holy water. The Chamber of 1874 was more Liberal than that of 1852. The Catholic leader in the last election, M. Piou, was always a Republican, and an immense majority of such Liberals as M. Jules Lemaître fitly represents would never countenance a measure likely to alarm any religious susceptibilities. Yet when we come to this class of men, who are Liberals without being believers, who profess to care for every liberty without any distinction, we often discover the root of a feeling frequently akin to anti-Clericalism. A letter recently printed in the *Times* was extremely characteristic of this particular state of mind. The writer deprecated any Clerical interference in the proposed Irish university, on the ground of a doctrine taught in the Roman schools, according to which the State ought always to give its assistance to the Church for the repression of heresies. He thought such a doctrine inconsistent with the first of modern liberties, the liberty of thinking. So the ghost of Church tyranny is not quite laid in a country where the Church has been kept in such humble submission for three or four centuries. Many people fear it in France as well, and we must confess that their fears are not quite so groundless as in Ireland. The Government of Napoleon III. was not professedly Clerical. 'We are a Government that does not go to confession,' said

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the Minister Rouland. Yet the Bishops in the second Empire succeeded more than once in making the Government act against its own philosophy and its best supporters. The lives of Renan, Taine, and Ste. Beuve afford the proofs of this. Whatever the Church regards as blasphemous, injurious to the faith of the people, she will always suppress when she has the power. This possible coercion never ceases to haunt the minds even of men who know that a Bishop has to be painfully careful about his least utterance, and who deplore it. This spirit, the Gallican or Napoleonic spirit, the spirit of the mediæval Legists, is nearly general outside the pale of the Church, and even there traces of it cling to the descendants of the old Liberals, the school of Montalembert and Falloux. It cannot be denied that the great teaching body, the *Universitè*, is, taken as a whole, extremely broad-minded. For one Jaurès you will find in it dozens of Lemaîtres. Those men will never countenance an act like the Associations Law, glaringly aimed against a section of the citizens, or the repeal of the *Loi Falloux*, by which they would, however, profit considerably. Yet it is not at all uncommon to hear them talk with dread of the possibility of a Clerical reaction; and in the Chamber, if they are opportunely reminded of the claims of the *Syllabus*, they may very well go to the opposite extreme and vindicate the claims of the civil society without thinking of the rights of the Church. The Parliamentary or the judicial atmosphere tends to strengthen this tendency. For many deputies or magistrates the law is just because it is the law, and not because it is according to justice. The *Journal des Débats*, whose staff consists mostly of such men, will fight against an illiberal measure when it is a Bill, and submit to it the moment it becomes an Act. M. Waldeck-Rousseau is a well-known example of that singular legalism but M. Ribot is a better one still. As a citizen, even as an individual deputy, he has always been clear-headed and moderate; whenever he has held office he has let himself be engrossed by his anxiety for the lay society to the extent of passing such an Act as the *loi d'abonnement*. Until time has convinced French politicians that the Catholic Church is no more to be feared in France than in England, they will

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exhibit the same contradiction that is to be seen in Westminster about the same questions: Liberalism when the English Catholics are concerned, the reverse when the Irish claims come in. French Liberals have nothing of the Revolutionists about themselves, but they cannot help continuing the work of the Revolution.

We have traced so far the anti-Clerical spirit rampant in the French Parliament to secular tendencies nearly general in the country, and not infrequently combined with sincere Liberalism. There is another cause for it which the English reader is apt to hear of with some scepticism, we mean the influence of Freemasonry. After hearing the name many times in England and in France, we have come to the conclusion that its French sound is altogether different from its English. There may be some exaggeration, indeed, in both countries. The French Freemasons are too evidently sectarians; but they do not worship the devil, as the popular imagination will have it. An article in the *Pilot* of May 17 gave some interesting details about these popular tales, and tried to arrive at the real truth underlying them. The author drew on his own experience, and made use of a highly instructive book lately published, the name of which we have placed at the head of this article. Masonic or anti-Masonic literature is far from scanty. We might name, out of hundreds of volumes, those of Bishop Fava, and especially those of the famous or infamous Leo Taxil. But in most of these works the fanciful holds too great a place, and leaves the reader uncertain whether anything is true. We ought to be thankful, therefore, for the publication of this work, from which we can obtain unquestionable facts.

This book is nothing less than a Parliamentary document endorsed by a Parliamentary committee. Its origin was as follows. Some years ago a petition signed by about 80,000 citizens was presented to the Chamber, to the effect that the law of 1848, on secret associations, should be enforced against the Freemasons. Such petitions are usually sent to a special committee consisting of eleven deputies, who consider whether they ought to be taken into consideration or not.

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First of all, a *rapporteur* is appointed to examine the question. His report is printed and placed in the hands of the deputies, who decide whether its conclusions are to be supported. The petition against Freemasonry was handed to M. Prache, the young and very intelligent deputy for Paris, and the 'motives and conclusions' of his report make up a brochure of 260 pages. We cannot go into a detailed analysis of this document, but it is well worth reading. It is based exclusively on Masonic official papers or on public declarations from Freemasons. It leaves no doubt that French Freemasonry is an extraordinarily powerful association, the political influence of which is used chiefly for promoting anti-Clerical, nay, anti-theistic notions. Up to 1877 the Masonic ritual contained the recognition of a Grand Architect of the Universe. This formula was then struck out, and a narrow materialism took the place of vague deism. A great many intelligent men have belonged to Freemasonry, but it is curious that the Masonic philosophy should have been worked out by uniformly inferior intellects. Its wording sufficiently proves this. At any rate, the Masonic religious policy is the most radical, the most accessible to the simple, untutored, unbelieving mind. It consists in the complete extinction of the Catholic faith by the shortest and most violent ways. Of course, parliamentary action answers much better than individual preaching, and since the establishment of the Republic in France the Grand Orient has constantly striven to substitute its will in the Chamber and the Senate for that of the country. M. Prache has abundantly proved by numerous facts that—in his own terms—

'The immediate object of Freemasonry is to rule the public powers, and thus force on the social life of the country its philosophical and political doctrines; in fact, it possesses unquestionable influence in the State, evidenced by encroachings on the common rights and liberties; it compels its adepts to engagements binding for ever their liberty of conscience; its avowed aim is to make the Government subservient to its ideas; it wrongs the electorate by constraining candidates for Parliament to secret declarations different from their public statements; it endeavours to secure public employments exclusively for its adepts,' etc.

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The influence which the Freemasons possess in the Chamber is directed primarily against the Church. This appears from the wording of the declaration signed by Freemasons standing for the Chamber. They promise to do their best to bring about the separation of the Church and State, the suppression of ecclesiastical salaries, of the liberty of teaching, of the embassy at the Vatican, etc. This promise is not at all platonic. A Freemason of high degree, M. Edmond Lepelletier, sent in his resignation quite lately because his political liberty was constantly hampered by the lodges; and another, M. de Mahy, indignant at the same tyranny, revealed in 1897 to the whole Chamber that not only himself but all the other Masons who had supported a motion towards a *Jeanne d'Arc* day had been summoned *ad audiendum verbum* and severely upbraided. M. Méline is the *bête noire* of the lodges because he is a renegade. The efficiency of the Masonic action appears strikingly from the most cursory comparison of the *programmes* drawn up by the Grand Orient with the laws passed by the Chamber in the last fifteen years: the military law, the secularisation of elementary schools, the supervision of vestry accounts by the State inspectors, the *loi d'abonnement*, exceptional income-tax on clerical property, the associations law, succeed each other in the *Journal Officiel* just as in the Masonic *Bulletin*. The lodges prepare the laws, and are above them. The *Bulletin*, which we have just mentioned, is the only French paper evading the obligation of delivery to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, in spite of public protest from the well-known librarian, M. Delisle. The Masonic buildings so conspicuous in the Rue Cadet are the only property free from the income-tax. Many such facts could easily be adduced, showing that the Freemasons are really a State in the State. Their influence in the Parliament just returned seems likely to be greater than ever. The majority in it is Radical, the Government will be Radical as well, and nearly all the Radicals are Freemasons. Whoever has read the reports of their meetings in the last days of May must have seen that their sole object is a fresh eruption of violent anti-Clericalism. They enable

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us to sketch out in advance the progress of French anti-Clericalism.

Till the beginnings of the third republic, the fight for or against the Church had been mostly between the Governments and the bishops. A tradition which had survived the Revolution would reserve the mitre for titled Paris priests or provincial vicars-general with a good name. An ecclesiastical directory about 1840 looked almost as aristocratic as a list of the prefects. Of course, the Government had regard for men belonging to the class from which they chose their own servants. A M. de Quélen or a Cardinal de Rohan were great people, even apart from their elevated station. A history of the Church of France in the nineteenth century would be fairly complete were it to limit itself to the difficulties between the Archbishops of Paris and the Government, from Maury to Archbishop Darboy. The Bishops were conscious of their personal worth, of the incapacity of their clergy for any political resistance, and, the lay champions of Catholicism being so much fewer than at present, those among the higher clergy who had some spirit were inclined to personate the modern Athanasius. The tendency was especially conspicuous under the second empire, when the Government was far from Clerical, but the nation, and some considerable influences like the Empress, were deeply religious. The Bishops knew their strength, and used it accordingly. Mgr. Dupanloup would express publicly opinions for which a Bishop of to-day would be fined to starvation. Cardinal Pie of Poitiers wrote pastorals that looked rather like philippics, with such apostrophes to the Emperor as: 'Wash thy hands, Pilate!' The Minister of Cults fretted and fumed, but seldom presumed to show his anger, for fear of eliciting worse speeches from his purple opponents.

The religious orders were much less noticed. The rapid reorganisation of the Jesuits after Charles X., the reappearance of the Dominicans with Lacordaire, had caused some commotion, but dislike towards them never assumed more than the popular and superstitious form embodied in the *Mysteries of Paris* or the *Juif Errant*. Their real action was not

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apparent, and the feeling against them did not rise above a comparatively low level. This state of things became totally different shortly after 1875. From that date we see the Bishops fall to the background, and the orders come to the front. The causes must be briefly stated. As we have said, the imperial as well as the royal Ministers of Cults used to appoint to the episcopal sees men who, either from their birth or their talent, had real distinction and independence. The Republican Governments took a different course. Jules Simon was the last Minister of Cults who would take the advice of the Pope through the *Nuncio*, and act up to it in his selection. After him the twenty or twenty-five Ministers who succeeded each other with amazing rapidity left it all to a man whose name is hardly known outside a small circle, but whose influence is greater than that of either Minister or *Nuncio*. This man is M. Dumay, the Director of Cults. The Ministers pass, but he remains, and after thirty years he knows the Church of France and what is left of canon law better than anybody. He and nobody else makes all the appointments. The reader ought to bear in mind that the appointments not only of bishops but of vicars-general and even rural deans (*curés de canton*) are in the gift of the Government. The Minister presents to the *Nuncio* three names, out of which Rome has to choose. Now, the Minister knows nothing about matters which never interest politicians, and are always annexed at present to something less special—the fine arts, for instance, or education. What can he do but consult the head of his perplexing department? So M. Dumay has his own way, and nobody could have it as perversely. He is personally anti-religious; his duties bring him into contact only with the less noble sides of what is human in the clergy; so he dislikes the Church, and his ironical *bonhomie* does not conceal his contempt for such of her ministers as he knows. His method is uniform. Of the three men he presents to the *Nuncio* two are generally honest, timid nobodies, and one a person of more talent, but who has given unmistakable signs of 'attachment to the Republican institutions.' This means propensity to something looking more or less like Erastianism. If the Pope demurs at the shabby

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terna, M. Dumay defers every appointment, and we have seen sometimes—bishops are often chosen among sexagenarians and die soon—seven or eight sees empty for ten or twelve months. The result is that of the ninety French bishops the few talented ones are seldom unblemished characters, and the rest are mostly good men without any stamina. Of course, there are occasional 'surprises.' The Abbé Lantaigne of Anatole France is not always fiction; a quiet lamb like Archbishop Gouthe-Soulard has been known to turn a fearful lion. But M. Dumay seldom experiences those unpleasant conversions. Besides, he does not lack means of keeping his 'violet prefects' in order. He can have them *déclarés d'abus* by the Council of State, he can stop their miserable 6,000 francs salary, he can refuse to appoint their vicars-general or their deans till they are quite submissive again. This scandalous coercion has grown rarer and rarer of late years, as the episcopate has become, like the magistracy, more and more *épuré*. The law on associations elicited next to no protest in the pastorals of last year, and the bishops never thought of taking common action against its enforcement. The suppression of the liberty of teaching, for which the bishops of 1840 and 1860 did so much, will probably rouse very few of their successors. On the whole they can no longer be regarded as a vital force in the French Church, and M. Brunetière could, less than a year ago, consider the possibility of a National Church in this country without exciting much astonishment.

The reader can easily see how the efforts of the Freemasons are now mostly turned against the orders. They know they have nothing to fear from the secular clergy, tame or easily kept down; but up to last year the regulars ought rather to have been called the irregulars in the Clerical army, and were immensely more effective than the diocesan priests. When a parish priest says something unpalatable to the prefect, or attempts to organize some of his people for any object not strictly religious, the way is easy for the Government: they stop his salary, and warn his bishop that he has to keep an eye upon him, and they will see that he does so. But when a regular priest is guilty of the same misdemeanour, it is

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much more difficult to deal with him. Up to the passing of the Associations Law the Government ignored him altogether. His religious name was often different from his real surname. The order to which he belonged was legally non-existent. Besides, he might be to-day in a convent of Paris and to-morrow in one in Marseilles or abroad. As long as he did nothing against common law he could not be touched.

The reader ought not to infer from this that many abuses have been recorded, and that monks were all Savonarolas. In fact, out of the seven hundred orders represented in France, the Government feared only two, the Assumptionists and the Jesuits. The rest were peaceable men engaged in hospital work, like the Brothers of Saint-Jean de Dieu, or in study, like the Benedictines, or in the most apostolic preaching, like the Franciscans; only the worst sort of Freemasons could object to them. We say nothing of the orders of women, which were uniformly useful, and had never been attacked till last year. The Assumptionists, a young and robust order, founded by a man who understood his time, were from the first men who would not be shut up in their churches. They had schools in which they claimed to form modern men, and they soon started papers, one of which, the *Croix*, has been an extraordinary success. This is not the place to judge the line followed by the *Croix*. It has generally been Republican and such as the Pope recommended, but not always. It has not been clearly proved that its staff had been involved in the so-called Royalist plot, but they certainly did no good to M. Waldeck-Rousseau's policy. In short, they were politicians, and politicians in opposition.

The Jesuits have very seldom been known to have any direct, even individual, political action. Still, many things pointed them out as irreconcilable enemies of the Republican Government. They generally came from the upper or the Conservative *bourgeois* class; they educated in their thirty colleges the richer class of boys; they kept their hold on them throughout their lives, and shaped them for public careers; above all, they turned into the army, thanks to admirably managed schools, about a quarter of its officers. These young men, being Catholics, aristocrats, and soldiers,

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could hardly get into the Democratic current, and their supposed sentiments in the Dreyfus affair created a terrible ill-feeling against their masters and advisers. It may be said that practically the Associations Law was framed against the Jesuits and the Assumptionists, and it will be more effective than any yet passed, short of violent expulsion. The broad lines on which it is to be applied are very simple. No religious association can henceforward exist without an authorisation of the Government, through an Act of Parliament, on examination of the object, members, and property of the association. An absolute condition of authorisation is the dependency of the order, not on its own superiors, but on the diocesan bishops.

The consequence is obvious. No order which is under suspicion, from its actual or possible tendencies, will be authorised. Every authorised order will be, under the new regulations, quite as well known as any section of the secular clergy, and as easily controllable through the bishops. In short, the Government recognizes only the bishops, and in spite of superficial appearances there are now in France none but secular clergy.

Such is, in plain and intelligible language, the legal situation of the Church. We have only before concluding to state the actual condition of the orders, and describe what we think it will be in the immediate future.

The immense majority of the orders have applied for authorisation. The Benedictines, some Carthusians, and part of the Carmelites preferred leaving the country before the expiration of the day fixed by the law, but they were the only well-known orders to choose that course. The rest, in the proportion of thirty to one, sent in a demand for authorisation. The Jesuits neither applied for authorisation nor left the country. They quitted their houses—or rather, the houses they occupied—for after their last expulsion in 1880 they had made over their schools and other residences to companies whose tenants they became, and the actual value of the property they apparently own has not been found to exceed 4,000*l.* They took rooms, in which they lived separately, or at most with one companion, wore the *rabat* which

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is the characteristic badge of the seculars, called themselves *M. l'Abbé*, avoided meeting publicly, never set foot in their old colleges, and went on preaching or hearing confessions in parish churches when asked by the *curés*. This attitude is absolutely legal. Practically there are no Jesuits in France, only ex-Jesuits living like ordinary priests.

In reality it is extremely probable, one may say certain, that these sham *abbés* are more than ever attached to their order, follow privately their rule, which is a most edifying one, manage to correspond with an unknown superior, and are only waiting for a change to fly back to their old homes. The Government knows it, and is enraged at it. Even the sober Waldeck-Rousseau could not conceal his anger. Circular after circular made it more difficult for any cassocked individual to look like a *gyrovagus*. Scores of ex-Jesuits were called before the courts to answer for such daring breaches of the law as preaching, confessing, or giving lessons to a little boy. But the circulars could take effect only if the bishops had the same spirit as the Government. As to the trials at law, they only showed that 'there are judges in Paris.' No fewer than ten courts have already acquitted the Jesuits prosecuted by the Minister of Justice. It is evident that they can be touched only if M. Dumay succeeds in remodelling the canon law in accordance with penitentiary regulations.

What, then, is meant by the 'rigorous enforcement of the Associations Law,' mentioned in the Ministerial declaration read in Parliament by M. Combes? Some lines in a speech delivered at Bayonne by the ex-Moderate M. Barthou give us a key. 'We shall have to discriminate,' he said, 'between charitable orders and such as, under pretence of educating children, nurse future enemies to the Republic.' So the Jesuits are no longer—as they were a year ago—the people mainly concerned in the law. A step further has been taken. Anti-Clericalism is coming back to the acute state it was in when Paul Bert embodied it, to the state which is habitual in Masonic lodges. The Associations Law is not to be applied liberally, as M. Waldeck-Rousseau had said, nor even literally; it will be applied invidiously. Those who mean

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abhorrence of Christianity when they say 'Republic'—this definition has been given hundreds of times in Parliament—always consider that the Christian teacher is the great opponent. So the Associations Law will be enforced, not strictly, but savagely against him. No order, even of women dedicated to teaching, will be authorised, and this will be absolutely legal, for on the strength of the law Parliament is the sole judge of the condition for authorisation.

There is more than that. What is the good of depriving regulars of the right of teaching if seculars are allowed to keep it? Now the Associations Law can do nothing against seculars, and the liberty of teaching is guaranteed for them by the *Loi Falloux*. What device can be found? The Government has not taken any great amount of trouble to be ingenious. One of the most prominent points in M. Combes' declaration is the repeal of the *Loi Falloux*. So the right of teaching will be simply taken from the seculars. This means, in the strict force of the words, not that any grant of money which might have been allowed to clerical schools (there is no such thing) is to be suppressed, not that priests are no longer to be qualified for teaching except by taking academical degrees, not that they will cease to be free about their *curriculum*—which they never were; but that men who have their degrees and every other legal capacity shall be prohibited from keeping schools which do not cost the State a penny, merely because they happen to be priests. This is the Masonic programme, worked out by the lodges and set forth by the new Premier.

The Radical policy is clear and intelligible. The lines it has followed can easily be traced in the history of the past twenty-five years: keep the Church in dependence by isolating the bishops from Rome and from one another, and punishing them for the least opposition from their priests; bring the orders into the same dependence by enrolling them under the bishops; at last, stop the diffusion of Christian ideas by keeping priests or nuns out of education. When this is done, the Radicals will exact the separation of Church and State, which means only the suppression of the salary (36*l.* per annum) given to parish priests. When that is done, they will

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want the Church to teach the Christianity they please. Their ancestors, the Jacobins, followed exactly the same line, and they cannot do otherwise. But when that is done, or long before it is done—there is no need to prophesy, the laws of history are too plain—we shall see a reaction. Catholicism may disappear from France in two or three centuries, for it is losing ground every day, but it will use up several generations of Radicals before being destroyed by purely violent measures.

ART. X.—THE EMPIRE AT PEACE.

1. *Lord Milner and South Africa.* By E. B. IWAN-MULLER. (London: William Heinemann, 1902.)
2. *'The Times' History of the War in South Africa, 1899–1902.* Edited by L. S. AMERY. Vol. II. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, & Co., 1902.)
3. *The Pan-Germanic Idea.* By Sir ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT, Bt., in the *National Review* for June, 1902.
4. *The Victoria League Annual Meeting. The Times*, June 19, 1902.
5. *The British Empire Review.* (Office of the British Empire League, 112 Cannon Street, E.C.)

THE long-drawn-out struggle in South Africa has ended at last in a peace so much happier and more cordial than was at all looked for that there is some real danger of the nation's being beguiled into forgetfulness of the duty of studying and laying to heart the lessons of the tremendous experience through which it has passed. If the result of having occupied the military strength of the British Empire for more than two years and a half in breaking down their resistance is that, when they do finally acknowledge themselves beaten and receive generous terms, the Boers are ready to accept British citizenship, not as an odious necessity, but with something like genuine goodwill, there are probably not a few Englishmen who will be inclined to think that not only the deadly grapple

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itself, but even its extraordinary prolongation, has turned out to our advantage. Nor can it be denied that there is a certain plausibility, even an element of truth, in this way of looking at what has happened. It is more than conceivable that if Lord Milner's proposals had been accepted by Mr. Kruger at Bloemfontein, and war had been avoided in 1899, the condition of South Africa at the present date would have been fraught with greater anxiety than any which is now called for. This reflection, we think, is forced upon any careful reader of Mr. Iwan-Müller's able and useful analysis of the course of the personal negotiations between the High Commissioner and the then President of the Transvaal. In other words, Lord Milner's requirements, in the interest of the Uitlanders, were intrinsically so moderate that not only their acceptance, but a sincere intention on the part of Mr. Kruger, and his ally Mr. Steyn, to treat them as part of an accommodation based on the loyal recognition of British supremacy, would have been essential to secure the termination of the 'intolerable strain' from which South Africa was suffering. If the five years' retrospective franchise had been granted to the Uitlanders, together with a substantial but still (which was all Lord Milner asked) quite small proportion of representation in the First Volksraad, Mr. Kruger and his allies and friends, in the Orange Free State and Cape Colony, would have occupied an exceedingly strong position. The new members of the Volksraad would, no doubt, have been able to press vigorously on Parliamentary lines for the redress of the grievances of their constituents. But they would not have been able to insist on such redress unless they could win the co-operation of a considerable section of the Boers, nor would they have been in a position to exercise any control over, or even effective check upon, the policy of the Transvaal Government in regard to military armaments or to co-operation with the South African Dutch generally for the prevention of any consolidation of South Africa under the British flag. At the same time, the concession of political liberties to the Transvaal Uitlanders would have practically debarred the British Government from maintaining that kind of *rôle* in South Africa which alone was sure to enlist the sympathy

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and support of all the population there of British origin and also of British colonists in other parts of the world. The force of these considerations is so obvious that it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that Mr. Kruger and Mr. Steyn, in deliberately facing the risks involved in an immediate war with the British Empire, acted without a large amount of criminally delusive encouragement from Europe. In any case, it seems entirely certain that Lord Milner asked for the irreducible minimum of change in the political arrangements of the Transvaal, and quite possible that, if peace had been preserved through the concession of his demands, we might have found reason to regret our moderation.

Again, it may well be that if our preparations for a war in South Africa had been based on a really adequate conception of the magnitude of the undertaking, and our strategy and tactics had from the outset been adapted to meet those of the enemy, we should have been able to reduce the Boers to apparent submission within six months from the outbreak of hostilities. But it is more than conceivable that such a campaign, while it would certainly have enhanced British military prestige more than the protracted war, now happily ended, can be said to have done, would have failed to bring home to the Boers the absolute determination of the British race at all sacrifices to establish British supremacy beyond challenge, as has been done by the thirty months of warfare from which we have now emerged. The opponents of the war in this country, when attributing to His Majesty's Government, quite unjustly, as is shown by the terms of the peace at last agreed to, an arrogant desire to trample our gallant foes in the dust, were in the habit of laying stress on the fact that it would be necessary to live with the Boers when the struggle was over. Very true; and that being so, and the Boers being what they are, it was even more important that the war should convince them of the unyielding fibre of the British character, of the readiness of the British to fight two, or three, or four, or more campaigns, if necessary, to obtain their object, than of their ability to provide the men and the war material required for the victorious establishment of the King's sovereignty over a small, but gallant and well-

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armed people, fighting over vast areas of a very difficult country, familiarly known to them.

Thus, candid reflection requires the admission that in the judgment of history it may be held that, things having reached the pass which had been reached in South Africa in 1899, it really was for the best, in the interests of permanent peace and permanent goodwill, that the question of the flag should be determined by physical combat, and even that that combat should be protracted, bloody, and exhausting. But, supposing it to have been so, what greater condemnation could be passed on the course of British policy than the acknowledgment of the fact that it led up to such a situation? At no date, we firmly believe, throughout the nineteenth century, not even in the coldest and darkest days of Colonial Office indifferentism, would public opinion in this country, if clearly consulted, have tolerated for a moment the idea of acquiescing in the surrender of South Africa to Boer domination. For such a surrender would always have been recognised as involving *both* the abandonment, or at least the tenure on little better than sufferance, of a position of absolutely vital importance to the maintenance of Imperial communications, and also the relinquishment of that sacred mission, of the protection of coloured races from enslavement or its equivalents, which England undertook when with a great, though not an adequate, price she bought the freedom of the slaves in her colonies. At all times the pride, the instinct for Imperial safety, and the conscience of our nation would have revolted against any proposal to allow another flag, another race, and another native policy than that of England to sway the Hinterland of the Cape, even if a naval station there had been technically guaranteed to us. And yet, though such was, fundamentally, the British temper in regard to South Africa, throughout the century that has gone, the record of our policy there altogether failed to reflect it with such steadiness as could be expected to carry conviction to the minds of the Dutch population.

For the most part the English people allowed events at the Cape and inland to drift on without making any effort to understand them, with the result that when crises arose in

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the relations between British authority and the Dutch element, or the natives, they were entirely unable to bring any intelligent criticism or pressure to bear upon the Colonial Office. That department was principally animated by a desire to restrict the expansion, and when possible even to contract the range, of recognised British responsibilities. With that aim Secretaries of State for both parties—for neither is the least clear from blame in this respect—censured and recalled great-minded and far-sighted High Commissioners like Sir George Grey and Sir Bartle Frere, who recognised that the responsibilities inherent in the nature of England's position in South Africa could not possibly be limited by artificial arrangements, and that dangers, whether from natives or from Boers, could not be neutralized by being ignored. With the possible exception of the fate of General Gordon, there is no passage in the British history of the nineteenth century more profoundly humiliating than that—painfully well told by Mr. Iwan-Müller—which records the treatment by two Governments of Sir Bartle Frere. And yet, so far as we can remember, neither of those Governments suffered appreciably at the time in public esteem for their unworthy behaviour to an exceptionally enlightened and distinguished servant of the State. Seeing that such things happened to the administrators who really understood South African problems, and in presence of the profound though possibly well-intentioned blunder involved in the policy of what Mr. Iwan-Müller calls 'Majubanimity,' it is small wonder that the Boers of the Transvaal and their kindred contracted a want of belief in the capacity of the British race to act as Paramount Power in South Africa with either intelligence or resolution.

Now and again, when someone took the trouble to explain the needs of the case to people at home, the latter showed clearly enough that nothing like abdication of national duty was in their minds. It was so when filibusters from the Transvaal and elsewhere harried the Bechuana tribes who had stood by us during the first Transvaal war, seized their lands and formed robber-republics there. The Government of Pretoria having evaded the duty of restraining

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its subjects from taking part in these proceedings, and shown a highly benevolent neutrality towards the communities so formed, two men—the late Rev. John Mackenzie, who had been a missionary in Bechuanaland, and the late Mr. W. E. Forster—determined that the shame of giving up natives who had helped us at our need, and to whom our help at theirs had been promised, should be brought home to the English people. They did so, and the result was that Mr. Gladstone's Government, contrary to their ignoble original mind, were constrained to send out a well-equipped expedition under Sir Charles Warren, which, without firing a shot—for the Boers were not then prepared for resistance—cleared the filibusters out of the land they had stolen, and established an unmistakable British Protectorate over the Bechuana tribes. It was an excellent and refreshing piece of work, and the character of the whole episode ought to have received fuller treatment than it does from Mr. Iwan-Müller. But an occasional display of vigour of that kind was far from being enough to counteract the effect of the dreary tale of previous weakness. The Boers were sobered for the time, but they did not look upon such an isolated outburst of vigour required by public opinion at home as in any way indicative of the nature of the policy which was to be steadily looked for from the British Government and people. And so the Warren expedition only served to stimulate the tendencies growing among them to work towards an Afrikander dominion so solid and powerful that, whether it had formally thrown off allegiance to England or not, it should be practically free from liability to fitful and inconvenient Imperial intervention.

The feeble and irresolute character of the action taken for many years by the British Government for the protection of the rights of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal, notwithstanding that the treatment which they received was increasingly at variance with the Conventions regulating the autonomy retroceded to that State, did not represent the reasoned temper of our nation with regard to those events, but its ignorance of their nature and consequent failure to comprehend their true significance. As soon as the gravity of the issues at stake

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was clearly and forcibly exhibited to the British race by Lord Milner's 'helot' despatch—the publication of which, however contrary to normal practice, was not only justifiable but necessary—they rallied with a spring to the support of the Government, which at last had discerned that in South Africa the fate of the Empire hung in the balance. Sir Henry de Villiers saw that rally and knew what it meant, and told Mr. Kruger's advisers. But it was too late. The Transvaal and Orange State had got their armaments. They had got their wickedly deceptive assurances of sympathy from Europe. They had no evidence before their eyes of what England could and would do to preserve her position as an Imperial Power, for they had seen Majuba and its sequel, and had heard only dimly, if at all, of the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. And so they risked all and flung themselves with wild hopes of success against the unconquered might of this 'ancient nation, proud in arms.' Perhaps it was insanity, but unquestionably the weakness of a succession of British Governments, and the culpable intermittency of British interest in South African affairs, were in large measure responsible for the illusions on which the madness rested, and for the terrible cost in life and material resources which has been required to sweep them finally away.

The first and greatest lesson, then, which the war ought to leave engraven indelibly on the mind of the British nation is that of the deadly danger to ourselves and others of going to sleep in regard to national or international questions, and the absolute necessity, if we are in earnest on any such subject, of proving ourselves so to all whom it may concern, not by occasional flashes of energy, but by steady vigilance and carefully considered action. Nor is there the slightest reason to suppose that we are entering on a period of tranquillity in which we can afford to forget this lesson, but very much to the contrary. During the late war there were, as we all know, extraordinary exhibitions of bad feeling towards England on the part of the people of foreign nations. British motives and aims were held up to indignation and scorn, British successes were minimised, and British reverses magnified with a persistence of malice and ingenuity

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which would have been incredible if it had not actually been witnessed. But that which has justly made the greatest impression in the country has been the revelation of the hostility—it is hardly going too far to say the hatred—felt towards us in Germany. That this hatred is no new thing has been well known to those acquainted with Germany during recent years, and it would be absolute folly to ignore the fact that this sentiment is cherished and deliberately cultivated there by a party—the Pan-Germans—of very considerable numbers and influence, or that their odious operations coincide in direction with the naval policy of the German Emperor. It seems hardly credible, indeed, that William II. can himself entertain schemes for the destruction of his uncle's Empire, but, for whatever purposes, he certainly aims at raising the naval strength of Germany to such a level as would enable her to wage no unequal struggle for the command of the sea. It is not, therefore, to be expected that he will exercise his authority for the suppression or even discouragement of a movement which must proceed towards its avowed end by the same route. And as a matter of fact it is evident that he did little, if anything, to check the atrocious campaign of abuse and calumny which was carried on in Germany against the British nation and its army during the course of the late war. Moreover, Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, who writes on Continental affairs with exceptional knowledge and authority, tells us, in the June number of the *National Review*, that while the Pan-Germans are the 'enthusiastic prophets' of a war *à outrance* with England, 'every party or political group in the Empire, even the Socialists, are ready and willing to support every proposal to increase the German fleet, no matter how enormous the sacrifice may be; and that the use to which that fleet is, in their unconcealed purpose, to be put, when occasion shall serve, is the overthrow of British power. Hitherto, as we all know, the policy of the British Government has been to conciliate Germany in every possible way. It has been a hostile combination of the fleets of Russia and France which has been looked upon as the contingency with a view to which our naval construction and armament should be planned, and while we

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have been civil to St. Petersburg and Paris, so far as we could see our way, we have made a point of being obliging and complaisant to Berlin; but to all appearances these attempts have been absolutely futile. 'Leading Germans,' according to Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, 'constantly assure us that nothing we can do will ever secure for us the friendship of their country. In the capitals of Europe and elsewhere German diplomatists systematically speak of England in language depreciatory or hostile.'

It is conceivable that this testimony is one-sided, in not taking account of counter-currents of feeling and opinion. But even supposing that to be the case, it is plain that we are in presence of the possibility, if not the probability, of the development of a national danger which would in its scope and intensity exceed, almost immeasurably, that which has been faced and overcome in South Africa. In a very real sense the late war has been for us a war with limited liability. The ordeal which there is too much reason to believe that Germany may resolve, if she has not already resolved, to prepare for us, would be a struggle for Imperial, we may even say for national, existence. The plan of action entertained by those who are pushing forward this tremendous enterprise is, doubtless, first the destruction of the sea power of England, and then, either by simple blockade and starvation alone, or by those agencies supplemented by military assault, her compulsory relinquishment of every portion of her Empire for which Germans think that they could find any use. It is a scheme of colossal piracy, no doubt, but there could be no greater mistake than to assume that on moral grounds the German people are likely to reject it. A conscience towards other nations may, in the course of years, develop even among them. But if we were to treat that as a ponderable element in any calculation as to German policy within our own time, we should deserve any disaster to the approach of which such a delusion blinded us. Conscience, as we understand it, towards other nations does not exist among Germans as an effective force. But intensity of what seems to them patriotic purpose, and clearsightedness as to the lines on which such purpose may best be pursued, exist

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in a very high degree. If therefore the British nation intends to keep whole and secure that Imperial fabric which every part of it, at home and beyond the seas, has just made such strenuous and successful efforts to protect against a very grave, but still local, danger, there must be no question now of any, even momentary, relapse into that state of oscillation between feverish interest and dull unconcern with regard to Imperial needs and obligations which, as we have shown, was mainly responsible for the late war. Peace is indeed most welcome, but not as an opportunity for the relaxation of national energies. Rather, on the contrary, must it be used for the reconsideration of the whole subject of our foreign relations; the maturing, as quickly as may be, of plans for the co-ordination of the resources of all the States of the Empire, in the cause of common defence; and, generally, for the husbanding of our national means, the provision of our national equipment, and the disciplining of our national character, in the ways best fitted to prepare ourselves against dangers, such as we now living in the Empire have never known, but such as stand now plainly within view.

To realise in fact our national and imperial responsibilities, to take all the obvious precautions possible which may obviate the possibility of war, to be willing to make the continuous sacrifice involved in being always ready, is not only a moral, but a religious duty.

It is of course the business of diplomacy to avoid wars by all means compatible with national interests and honour. The diplomacy of England must be conducted with a view to the discomfiture of projects for the injury or ruin of this country, by combinations so powerful that the authors of such projects would not venture to push them to the point of war. For many years abstention from all 'entangling alliances' was, quite rightly, a principle which governed the course of our foreign policy, whichever party was in power. But freedom from entanglement would be purchased much too dearly if it involved us in a desperate and solitary struggle for life which might have been avoided by a scheme of alliances analogous, let us say, to the combination by which Prince Bismarck secured Germany against being attacked

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in front and rear. The negotiation of the alliance with Japan seems, as Sir Rowland Blennerhassett justly observes, to be an indication that Lord Lansdowne has 'emancipated himself from the tyranny of antiquated superstitions.' It suggests that the British Foreign Office has a mind open to the necessity of re-arranging our relations with the Powers of the world in view of the revelations which the late war has afforded us. The schemes of the Pan-Germans involve piratical operations at the expense of so many others of Germany's neighbours as well as ourselves that there ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the way of organising joint defensive arrangements against a nation which seems to be threatening to become almost as great a common danger as was France under the first Napoleon.

These, indeed, are high matters of the *arcana imperii*, to which outsiders must refer with much caution and reserve. Ministers of State must always know, or be by courtesy assumed to know, a great deal more as to the existing condition and the probable future development of foreign affairs than any detached observers, however careful and intelligent, can know. None the less, however, it is most important that those responsible for the conduct of the external policy of this country should be conscious that their action, or inaction, is followed by an alert and intelligent public opinion. It was the consciousness of the contrary which was to a large extent accountable for the miserable policy so long pursued by the Colonial Office in regard to South Africa. Let Ministers once be aware that at least the general conditions with which they have to deal in connection with foreign affairs are justly appreciated, and that it is expected of them (as well as of newspapers) to exercise an 'intelligent anticipation of events before they occur,'—to think out international problems in advance, and to be prepared with a well-devised scheme of action in the case of the occurrence of certain very possible, and even probable, contingencies,—and we might then reasonably look for a reasoned, steady, consistent, and resourceful policy. Even if our statesmen were much more ready than for many years they usually have been to move, when the occasion arises, in advance of

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any clear indications of public opinion, their difficult task would be much lightened if they could feel that they were closely and intelligently watched, and quickly and sympathetically supported whenever they took a line worthy of their country and in accordance with its genuine needs. It may, and probably will, be their duty to take decisions of the highest moment to the security of the British Empire within the course of a very few years. The chance that those decisions will be rightly taken is capable of great enhancement by a careful and steady application of the minds of British citizens generally to the external relations of their country.

But, of course, it is primarily and principally on ourselves that, under Providence, we must rely, and as the Bishop of London well observed the other day, there could be no greater mistake than for us to assume that we are the favourites either of fortune or of Heaven. If the British Empire wishes the ends of security and of permanent unity, it must wish the means—and the means are material, intellectual and moral preparedness to encounter any attack which may be planned against it. And here let us at once disabuse ourselves of the most dangerous notion that because in the end we have 'muddled through' the war in South Africa, because it is even conceivable, as we have acknowledged, that its very length may have helped to convert our gallant and most obstinate foes into willing subjects of the British Crown, we therefore need not trouble ourselves very much about the terrible blunders which marked its early stages and the humiliating reverses which were strewn throughout its annals. It is too possible that an impression of this kind may be carelessly cherished. Nothing in the world could be more irrational or more charged with the presage of future calamity. The one feature in which the war has been distinctly contrasted with any which we might have to wage with a Great Power is the fact that we have been allowed time in which to repair our errors. When, if ever, we have to fight for our existence as an Imperial Power the issue, in all probability, will be practically settled in one campaign. We shall assert and hold, or we shall lose,

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the command of the sea, and if we lose it there will be no conceivable chance of our regaining it in time to prevent ruinous terms from being forced upon us. The readiness of the colonies to face sacrifices for the cause of the Empire would be as abundantly shown then as at the darkest moments of the South African war, and doubtless far more so, in proportion to the infinitely greater intensity of the need. But it could not avail to avert a catastrophe. Let us suppose that Spain had had a ring of prosperous and loyal colonies eager to come to her help when her navy had been destroyed by that of the United States. They could have done nothing to help the mother-country or to restrict the power of the States to enforce upon her a humiliating capitulation, for the simple reason that years are required to build modern ships of war, and that only by ships of war could the tide of victory have been turned. In our case, the situation would be even far worse. The coasts of Spain would have been liable to insult and her ports to bombardment if she had refused to acquiesce in the loss of Cuba and the Philippines, and it is even possible that an American expedition would have landed and wrought great devastation, and defeated the Spanish forces on their own soil. But the actual subjugation of the country would have been an extremely costly and arduous task, even to a Power with all the vast resources of the United States. The subjugation of England by a Power, or combination of Powers, which had destroyed or definitely crippled our navy would—let us face the truth—be much less difficult than that of Spain would have been to the American Republic, for while Spain could have fed herself indefinitely, this country at the end of a very few months would be foodless. Long before there could be any hope whatever of a recovery, through the most passionately strenuous war-shipbuilding here and in the colonies, of power to protect British-bound grain vessels, we should have eaten up all the corn in our possession, and be compelled, like a beleaguered city in the same situation, to surrender virtually at discretion.

If this be so, and we do not see how it can be disputed, there follows the inevitable inference that the prime duty of the statesmen of the British Empire is to concert, and of the

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peoples of the Empire to sustain them in concerting, such measures of naval preparation as shall render it hopeless for any foreign Power, or any reasonably probable combination of foreign Powers, to attempt to wrest from us the command of the sea. That, it may be said, is the principle on which the policy of the Board of Admiralty has long been ostensibly conducted. Yet there can be no doubt from the official admissions made at the time that a year ago the equipment and in some respects the strength of the British Mediterranean Fleet were by no means up to the standard which national prudence demanded. Since then there has been a marked improvement, but the nation cannot afford to slip back in its naval preparations, even if it be only for a few months, while Germany is coming up hand over hand. The British public, we believe, have a just confidence in the patriotism and the intelligence of Lord Selborne and Mr. Arnold-Forster. Nor is there, in our belief, any reason to suppose that if the Liberal party were to return to office the Ministers directly responsible for the Navy would be less worthy of public confidence. But whatever party is in power, there is the Treasury to be dealt with, and so long as the United Kingdom alone bears, with the exception of amounts that are in magnitude, though not in principle, insignificant, the whole burden of the naval defence of the Empire, so long is it certain that the British Admiralty will be liable to be checked at intervals, if not continuously, by the Treasury from rising steadily to the height of Imperial requirements. There is something so essentially, so radically, unsound about the present distribution of Imperial burdens that in our belief it is only necessary for the situation with all its dangers to be fully, clearly, and in the most entirely friendly way explained to the people of the great colonies in order to secure their acceptance of a reasonable share of Imperial responsibilities. Of course, they could not be expected to do so without receiving a satisfactory guarantee that their contributions would be applied in a competent and businesslike fashion and also that their views in regard to the general conduct of the external policy of the Empire would be regularly considered.

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These points can hardly be elaborated with advantage in an article written on the eve of the meetings of the Colonial Premiers in conference with the Colonial Secretary and other members of the Imperial Government. But this much may at any rate be said—that many as might be the advantages of a fiscal union within the Empire, the difficulties of reaching an accord on that subject are such that it would be the greatest possible blunder for its attainment to be regarded in any quarter as a condition precedent to a working understanding on the question of common defence. It is our earnest hope that the Imperial Conference will not disperse without having made some definite advance in this connection. There could never be a time more favourable than the present for such progress. But whatever may be the results at the present time of the consultations of the Empire's foremost men, there will remain a more definite call than ever upon citizens—men and women of all ranks and classes—in different parts of the Empire to work for the development of full mutual comprehension, and as far as may be for the reciprocal supply of one another's needs. It is impossible to exaggerate the intensification which the war has brought about in the realisation of family unity throughout the Empire. In this we all most rightly rejoice; but with the increase of mutual nearness there come fresh dangers to be avoided, fresh duties to be discharged. Those who have given freely of their best blood in the Imperial cause will reasonably expect that their needs, their feelings, their susceptibilities will be more carefully consulted in the Empire at large and particularly at its heart and centre than has been the case hitherto. There is an equal call, we may add, for corresponding efforts at a better apprehension of United Kingdom points of view on the part of our brethren in the colonies, for the defence of whose rights Great Britain has shown that she is willing when the call arises to stake everything.

Both at home and among colonial citizens it must be remembered that towards the smooth and successful working of any such common arrangements for common defence as in the present state of the world are clearly seen to be absolutely necessary, a full and ever-growing measure of mutual popular

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understanding will be of the first importance. There are those statesmen—we imagined Lord Salisbury, from a recent speech, to be one of them—who are so much possessed by a consciousness of the occasions for friction which would be afforded by anything in the shape of a formal federal union between the Mother-country and the great daughter States, that they incline towards putting off indefinitely any serious attempt to achieve such a union. For our part, with all respect, we hold that if, in presence of the perils which are being deliberately prepared for us, the Empire does not in some effective, while elastic, fashion, federate itself for defensive purposes, its members will deserve the ruin and destruction which will come upon them. At the same time we do not for a moment deny that there are difficulties and even dangers associated with federation in any form among communities, the conditions of which—political, economic, climatic and social—vary so greatly as do those of the States which go to make up the British Empire. They must be faced, because only so can dangers incomparably greater be certainly neutralised: but it is of the first consequence that everything possible should be done to reduce them.

For this purpose it is essential that in every possible way there should be diffused throughout the Empire an intelligent appreciation of the leading special features of life in its chief great States and of the character of the main problems, external and internal, which severally press upon them. The foundations of an equipment of this kind ought to be laid much more generally and more surely than, we are afraid, is as yet the case in our schools of all grades. We may hope that this educational need will be increasingly supplied. But even where the qualifications for taking an intelligent interest in all which concerns our fellow-countrymen beyond the seas have been more or less adequately provided at school, the habit needs to be cultivated and nourished, and unfortunately there are very large numbers of English men and English women in whom, except under the stress of some special excitement or Imperial danger, such a habit needs to be created. To meet the need which we have thus pointed out, a great deal of organised effort will be required,

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and the most cordial recognition is therefore due to the enlightened public spirit exhibited in the plans of the Victoria League—an organisation of women for the purpose of aiding on all available lines the consolidation of Imperial feeling. At the annual meeting of this body, which was held on June 18, Lady Jersey, the President, being in the chair, it was indicated that the League hoped to arrange for the delivery throughout the country of lectures, giving in popular form information which would enable those who heard them to study with intelligent sympathy the questions interesting to the dwellers in our different colonies. Both Mr. George Wyndham and Mr. Asquith, who were present, expressed the warmest approval of this project, the latter statesman observing that he 'did not believe a greater service could be rendered to the cause of the British Empire.' No time, it is certain, could be better than the present for the inauguration of such a work. Its tendency cannot fail, so far as it operates, to stimulate the growth, on the importance of which Lord Hugh Cecil eloquently dwelt in his striking speech on the second reading of the Education Bill, of an intelligent and wholesome Imperialism—a body of aspiration and effort based on no mere calculation of material gain or pride in extended domination, but aimed at securing to the united British race throughout the world full opportunities, unmenaced by external danger, of realising, under the most diverse conditions, the sum of their largest and noblest possibilities, not merely in happiness and well-being for themselves, but in service to mankind at large.

In working towards such an ideal there is surely enough to stir the imagination of every citizen who is worthy of the British name. Those deserve well of their fellow-countrymen who lead the way upon any of the lines by which ends so glorious may be furthered. The British Empire League is an organisation which unquestionably merits mention in this connection. Including among those who direct its affairs many influential persons of various ways of thinking in domestic politics, and carefully avoiding the adoption of 'cries' or declarations of policy of a controversial character, it sets itself steadily to the multiplication and the strengthen-

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ing of inter-Imperial links—defensive, economic, social, relating to communications, and whatever others there may be or may come to be—and, with little noise or show, quietly does a very considerable amount of genuinely welding work. One of its most useful activities lies in the publication of its organ, the *British Empire Review*, in which for the small sum of sixpence a month may be obtained an interesting and well-ordered and carefully selected *précis* of events of Imperial consequence, together with a sufficient amount of well-informed and instructive comment. It would, in our opinion, be of very good service to the stimulation and maintenance of the habit of intelligent and watchful study of topics bearing on the unity of the Empire, if branches of the British Empire League were started in many centres of population at home and in the Colonies—it has already important branches in Canada and also, we believe, in Australia—and if the *British Empire Review* were widely taken in public libraries and reading-rooms.

Many are the lines of work on which the unity, the security, the true strength and glory of the Empire may be promoted. And, life being short, and in the case of most of us tolerably full of necessary occupations, it is not to be expected that many citizens should find time and opportunity for active effort on many lines for these great ends. But the British people will have ill learned the lessons of the period of trial and sacrifice through which they have lately passed if they are not found far more widely conscious than before of the duty of keeping the citizenship of the Empire, as well as of their own country or State in the Empire, very clearly before them. Happily there are few spheres of service to the individual State which do not bear, directly or indirectly, on the best interests of the Empire as a whole, and therein is a thought which should avail to give fresh life and inspiration to much laborious and self-sacrificing toil. Very distinctly, for example, should this be so in regard to all effort directed towards the mitigation of the existing terrible evil of overcrowding in our great cities, and above all in London, and towards the prevention of the extension of that evil, whether directly, by the bestowal of new powers on central or

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local authorities, as was ably advocated in one of the essays in *The Heart of the Empire*, or indirectly, by the furtherance of such projects as those for the establishment of 'Garden Cities' in the country. All who devote themselves to work on any of these lines will know that they are, in their measure, serving to purify, physically and morally, the springs from which the population of the outlying countries of the Empire is fed. Although not more really, yet perhaps more realisably, contributory to the building up of the Empire at its outposts, is all work directed to the promotion of emigration on organized plans. On this subject Mr. Wyndham spoke with much force and earnestness at the meeting of the Victoria League already mentioned. He suggested very properly that we ought to get rid of the 'e,' and only speak of 'migration' within the Empire, and then went on to point out that the teaching of history establishes the peculiar value of community-migration, and that the more organic the movement of population to the at present thinly inhabited portions of the Empire, the better will be the social and economic results secured. In this connection it is certain that there is large scope for the labours of enlightened philanthropy and Imperial patriotism.

We have touched mainly, and that only illustratively, on what may be regarded as lessons taught to the nation and Empire as a whole by various aspects of the arduous and anxious struggle through which we have passed. The military lessons of the war are emerging, but they cannot be entered upon here, nor can they yet be treated fully or with confidence even by experts. There are, however, many indications of their general scope in the second volume of '*The Times*' *History of the War*, a book the great ability of which has been widely recognised. It is certain that the nation has been bitterly disappointed, not in the spirit or endurance of officers and men, but in the abundant evidence which the war has afforded that the system which has had such splendid raw material to deal with has failed to produce an army capable of adapting itself to unfamiliar conditions of warfare, except after heavy and humiliating reverses, at the hands of a foe greatly inferior in numbers, and practically destitute of educa-

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tion in the formal sense. It will be one of the main duties of the British democracy to enforce upon their rulers the absolute necessity of facing the problem of providing the country with a military system which, in Mr. Amery's excellent words, 'shall forestall the lessons of the future rather than strive merely to copy other systems which may have gained success in the past. . . . Every member of the new army, from the headquarters staff down to the privates in the ranks, must be a trained expert in his own branch of the military art. There must be no room in it for stupid generals, for uneducated officers, for soldiers who cannot shoot straight or find their way about. Efficiency and not numbers must be the one standard of military preparedness. The new system must be free from all shams.' The old system has had too many of them. The Report by the able and impartial Committee who have inquired into the education of officers exhibits how far, in one sphere, the element of sham has gone. It would have been a miracle if many of the arrangements for training officers described in that Report and the spirit animating them had not resulted, at the first opportunity, in the lamentable events through which we have had to pass before overmastering the resistance of the Boers.

As though to sober the British people at the moment when their rejoicing over the Peace was about to merge in, and intensify, their rejoicing over the greatest and most splendid of all possible Imperial ceremonials, the King himself, the living seal and symbol of the unity of the Empire, was laid low by dangerous illness on the very eve of his Coronation. The voice of joy and exultation was turned into that of intercession, and, as we write, there seems good reason to hope that the nation's prayers have been heard, and that the skill of modern surgery has been blessed to the healing of our stricken Sovereign. Through his illness the King has borne himself with a very noble spirit of self-sacrifice. Anxious not to disappoint or alarm his people, it is certain that he faced fatigues and risks which a man caring only for his own health or comfort would unquestionably have avoided; and that in many other ways his considerate thought for his subjects, and especially

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for the poorest of them, has been most attractively shown. If, as we may trust, his health is to be restored, it cannot be doubted that the hearts of monarch and people will be drawn more closely together than before. May we not hope also that in all ways he and they will learn and practise to the full the lessons of this fresh experience of anxiety and danger? If great deliverances have been vouchsafed to us, it is not because we are the favourites of Heaven, but surely in order that we may, if we will, use to the best ends life that has been spared and strength that has been renewed. From the Sovereign in his sick room to the humblest soldier on the veldt there has been shown an abundant tendency to play the man, and to think of the needs and sorrows of others, even in presence of deadly peril. Without that temper our nation could never have become, and could never remain, what it is. But to its real safety, what is still more absolutely needed is that constant earnestness of purpose which we are told is out of fashion at Sandhurst, a steady readiness to sacrifice the ease or pleasure of the moment, or the day, for the sake of realizing the inwardly recognized standard of private and public worth. If thankfully but very humbly we go forward, facing the future in faith and using the light shed on it by the past, then for King and people alike the sorrows that have been borne will furnish the springs of the happiness and well-being and the true glory of the years to come.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—General Literature.

Travel in the First Century after Christ. By Caroline A. J. Skeel. (Cambridge University Press, 1901.) (Pp. x.–159; Two Maps.)

A clear, concise, useful little book, written for the Gibson Prize at Girton College, but with more judgment and restraint than often characterize Prize Essays. Two-thirds of it are devoted to a description of the methods and circumstance of locomotion over all the area of the Roman Empire in the first century of its existence. This

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part is done with as much thoroughness and precision as is probably possible within the narrow limits of space allowed. For the facts the standard Dictionaries of Antiquities are no doubt largely responsible; but the authoress has gleaned her illustrations over a pretty wide literary field. However put together the result is distinctly interesting. This account of how officials, soldiers, merchants, couriers and tourists moved about the Roman world in the epoch of the first Christian missionary effort cannot fail to attract everyone not devoid of imagination or that vagrant and curious instinct which has been implanted in most of our race. There are few remains of antiquity that stir the historical sense of an imperial people at the present day like the traces of the Roman highways—whether of the Appian Way, or farther afield in North Africa and West Asia, where a traveller may ride for hours, nay days, beside their ruinous embankments, marking his progress by the groups of inscribed pillars at the imperial mile-stations.

This part, the majority, of the book seems to us both seasonable and accurately compiled. We take some exception indeed to the useless map inserted as a frontispiece, whereon the κοινὴ ὁδός of 'all who go up to the East' is not marked, though it is described in detail later, on Strabo's, *i.e.* Artemidorus's, authority; and the eastward tracks from Antioch are taken with a bold sweep through waterless wastes. And not in blame (for epigraphic material is widely scattered and inadequately indexed) but with a desire to help towards a second edition, we suggest rather wider research among inscriptions. The important Tariff of Koptos, regulating the dues to be paid for military escort (ἀποστόλιον) over the desert roads to the Red Sea in the time of Domitian, ought certainly to be consulted (Petrie, *Koptos*, p. 27), and a good deal can be inferred about the Euphrates valley traffic from the Palmyra Tariff of Hadrian's day (*Journal Asiatique*, 1883, ii. p. 149). The Oxyrrhynchus and Fayum papyri are also instructive, especially those of Bacchias, where the Memphite road entered the oasis from the desert. In regard to the fabric and accompaniments of Roman roads, Mr. D. G. Hogarth's paper on *Modern and Ancient Roads in Eastern Ancient Minor* (Suppl. Papers, R.G.S.) should be consulted; and upon the changes which accompanied the break up of the system of communications dealt with by Miss Skeel in her final chapter, light is to be obtained from the provisions of the *Codex Theodosianus*, relating to road maintenance.

A special chapter is devoted to Asia Minor, probably under the express terms of the Prize; and part of this, no doubt, was read in proof by Professor Ramsay, as stated in the authoress's pre-

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face. What Miss Skeel here says, therefore, about the main and subsidiary roads of the Peninsula, and especially the Apostolic journeys, may be assumed to have a sort of official *imprimatur.* It is in fact composed from the published works of the greatest living authority. The page on the general physical features of Asia Minor, however, has evidently not come under the same eye; for it leaves a great deal to be desired. It is misleading to give the mean elevation of the Anatolian plateau as high as 3,500 to 4,000 feet, or the summits of Taurus at anything like 13,000 feet. Nothing in the peninsula but the independent volcano Argaeus, which is part neither of Taurus nor Anti-Taurus, approaches that altitude. No peak of Taurus probably passes 11,000. There are not few but many passes through the latter range; and to call the whole northern mountain system, even to Mount Ida in the Troad, Anti-Taurus, is to use that term as no geographer uses it. Reference to the section on Asia Minor in Elisée Reclus's *Universal Geography* would correct these errors.

But this is only one bad page among many good ones, and does not impair our hearty welcome of the book. We believe that it will stimulate wider interest in one important set of circumstances which conditioned the expansion of Christianity.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. To Himself. In English. By GERALD H. RENDALL, M.A., Litt.D., Headmaster of Charterhouse. (London: Macmillan, 1901.)

THREE years ago Dr. Rendall brought out an English rendering of the twelve books of Aurelius's *Thoughts*, with an introductory chapter on Stoicism and the last of the Stoics, a highly interesting study which was briefly noticed in this Review[1] at the time. It is unnecessary, therefore, to speak of the earlier volume at any length. The present small volume, a charming addition to the Golden Treasury Series, will be welcomed by a larger circle of readers. Dr. Rendall has, he tells us in his Preface, 'revised, and in some measure simplified, the translation, and in the Introduction has set down only what seemed essential for intelligent understanding of the Thoughts.' We may say, however, of this introductory essay, that it contains within its thirty-six pages an admirably lucid summary of everything required by one approaching the subject for the first time, both as to the book and its author. The salient features of the Meditations, as they used to be called, are well brought out, and the unique position they occupy in literature,

[1] *Church Quarterly*, October 1898, pp. 271, 272.

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being 'a private diary or commonplace book, not meant for other eyes, but for the relief that self-examination and self-utterance bring.' 'Their spell lies in their sincerity; in them through endurance, through isolation, and through self-restraint, soul speaks to soul.' Dr. Rendall does not ignore their occasional defects and limitations, excess of self-consciousness, monotony and unprogressiveness, but after all this is admitted, 'these soliloquies may not unjustly be described as the *De Imitatione* of Paganism. And wide as is the gulf that lies between Stoic Pantheism and belief in the Incarnate Christ, and their effect upon the emotions and the moral sense, both books exhibit the same aloofness and detachment from the world, the same fixity of look on the Eternal, the same final and direct relation of the soul to God, and the same continued return upon the absorbing centre of devotion.'

Dr. Rendall remarks in his Preface: 'Since the publication of the larger volume it has been a delight to me to realize the number and variety of those who find support and companionship in these soliloquies of the great Emperor.' And the writer of this notice can bear similar witness. A farmer of his acquaintance, a plain man of no particular culture, like Horace's Ofellus—

'Rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minerva,'

spontaneously solicited the loan of the book, and returned it with expressions of strong appreciation of the benefit derived from its perusal. And we imagine that to not a few of those who cannot be described as illiterate or uneducated, to some who have gazed with admiration at the 'far-off look of reflection and enduring fortitude' on the relief of the Triumphal Arch, or on that most majestic representation of regal dignity, the equestrian statue in the Campodoglio, the following maxims will come with all the force of novelty and surprise:

'Shun wayward random thoughts, and, above all, meddling and ill-nature. Limit yourself habitually to such regards, that if suddenly asked "What is in your thoughts now?" you could tell at once the candid and unhesitating truth' (Book iii. 4).

'Here one thing is of real worth, to live out life in truth and justice, with charity even to the false and unjust.

'When you want to cheer your spirits, consider the excellences of those about you—one so effective, another so unassuming, another so open-handed, and so on and so on. Nothing is more cheering than exemplifications of virtue in the characters of those about us' (Book vi. 48).

'Remember that you have not to bear up against the future or the past, but always against the present only' (Book viii. 36).

'The mind free from passions is a citadel; man has no stronger

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fortress to which he can fly for refuge and remain impregnable' (Book viii. 48).

'Men exist for one another. Better them then, or bear with them' (Book viii. 59).

'Unhasting, yet unresting, a smiling face, yet a firm heart—such is the faithful follower of reason' (Book x. 12).

'How goes it with your Inner Self? That is everything. All else, in your control or out of it, is dust of the dead and smoke' (Book x. 33).

Such are a few among the golden maxims of one who without self-deception communed with his own soul—'aurea dicta, aurea, perpetua semper dignissima vita.' And here we may ask, Was it, as Merivale asserts in his *General History of Rome* (chap. lxvi.), the fastidious pride that could not brook the simple creed on which the Christian leans, which led Aurelius to give his sanction to the most general persecution that the Church had yet suffered? We can hardly believe this to be a sufficient explanation. How far the Emperor was himself responsible for the martyrdoms of Justin and Polycarp, of Blandina and Pothinus, and other victims has been questioned. They took place not at Rome, but in Gaul and Asia Minor. They were not, it has been held, due to his direct instigation, nor in special accordance with his desire. Christianity, we know, was constantly confounded with other Oriental systems that were regarded with especial suspicion in view of the calamities that were threatening the empire. Marcus Aurelius cannot, indeed, be absolved from the charge of letting the law take its course, but he sinned in ignorance of what the new religion really was, and of its Founder. He was far less culpable in acting as he did than Christians whose persecutions in the name of religion (*e.g.* the burning of the Templars at Paris and the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition) form some of the blackest pages in history. He was jealous of the inherited worship of Rome, not as believing in the fabled deities, but regarding the national cult as part and parcel of the fabric of the empire with which he was entrusted. Such considerations mitigate harsher feelings, and Christianity is nothing if it does not exercise the virtue of forgiveness towards such a foe.

Yes! and may we not go further than this, and say that for a pure and candid spirit like that of Marcus Aurelius—a spirit that knew full well and exemplified in itself the value of discipline—there must be a place prepared above that of many a mere nominal Christian? Christ's words, 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me,' suggest, if they do not clearly express, an unlimited hope for the human race. It has been well said in a volume[1] full of hopefulness, large-

[1] *The Divine Love.* By C. J. Abbey. Macmillan, 1900.

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mindedness, and charity, 'If Christ were only present to a chosen few, while others must await Him as a dreadful Judge, small and narrowed would be the joy of His presence.' 'All in every age and place who have ever known the will of God, however dimly, and have done it, however imperfectly, have so far forth believed in and obeyed the Son of Man. He is not the Lord of Christians only, however great their privilege and blessing.'

Women and their Work. By the Hon. Mrs. A. T. Lyttelton. (London: Methuen, 1901.)

Change of conditions during the last century has resulted in the opening of many new channels to women's enterprise, hitherto confined to the two departments of domestic life and society. As Mrs. Lyttelton says, this fact has now become a truism, but a truism assumed, with but rare realization of its deep meaning. 'This is not a revolt; it is a revolution.' In her introductory chapter she deals with the whole question of 'The Woman's Movement' in a wholesome, sober, discerning spirit, which should gain from fair-minded readers the acknowledgment that, as the ultimate cause of that movement can be traced to the changes and progresses of the world, time will eventually prove that 'those who have believed in the woman's movement have been furthering, not "the mere designs of men," but "the decrees of Providence itself."' We could wish that woman's progress had possessed such an advocate in the days of Canon Liddon and Dean Burgon, as their opposition and that of many great Churchmen probably arose from a distorted view of its meaning, from disgust at irritating extravagances, from alarm at the losses in women's best qualities which they feared it might involve; whereas the reasonableness, shrewd temperate arguments and religious spirit which abound throughout the book could not have failed in great measure to disarm their criticisms.

Mrs. Lyttelton's words on the importance of 'indirect education,' the relation of friendship between parents and children, the need of scope and opportunity for grown-up daughters, the necessity for training in philanthropic work, the professional and industrial competition between men and women, and on family prayers and Sunday observance, are admirable; setting forth broad principles and wise counsels in well-balanced effective sentences, brightened with sparkles of humour; as, for instance, after an eminently sage warning against straining the bands of friendship with a weight of advice, she adds: '"He gave us so much good advice," said a native chief once on being asked what had become of an English-

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man, "that we ate him." The lives of many friendships have been ended for the same reason.'

Thatcham, Berks, and its Manors. By S. BARFIELD. Edited by J. PARKER. (Published by J. Parker and Co.)

OWING to the death of Mr. Barfield this work has not received the careful arrangement so necessary to a Parish History. It contains, as the editor admits, occasional repetitions. There are digressions breaking the thread of the history—as, for instance, the interpolation of the churchwardens' accounts into the middle of a sketch of the successive vicars, while the division into books, each starting from earliest times and carried on to the present century, leaves, perhaps unavoidably, a confused idea of comparative chronology.

The work is in two volumes: the first containing the actual history, the second being an appendix comprising copies of or extracts from the original documents referred to in Vol. I.

The first volume is divided into four books. The first deals with the history of the parish, of which the records are numerous. Mediæval names of inhabitants and field names come under this heading. The second comprises the history of the church, which is interesting from its connexion with the monastery of Reading. It also includes extracts from the Parish Registers and a chapter on the churchwardens' accounts. These are the most striking part of the book, showing for a moment living figures among the mass of mere dry records. There are, for example, entries of a payment to the 'cunnynge woman' for information as to a lost communion cloth; of money granted to a poor captive whose tongue had been cut out; of payments to a galley slave and to a poor scholar; and in the appendix, where the accounts appear in full, are pathetic notices of charges for the burial of wayfarers, including a girl who was found in a 'hogstye' dead from starvation. These poor homeless creatures are probably the same referred to in Book IV., on the manors—persons who appeared likely to become chargeable to the parish, and were therefore compelled to remove. 'Charities and Endowments' form the third book, the extracts from wills given in the appendix seeming unnecessarily voluminous. The fourth book contains the history of the manors, which, if it in part repeats that of the parish, is full of interest, especially from the references to contemporary events, such as the signing of Magna Charta, the Black Death, the taxation of Edward III.

Taking it as a whole, the work is one of considerable value. The readers of a parish history will probably never be very many, but in this case among the mass of information which has been collected

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there is a great deal of more than mere local interest, which would be read with pleasure by a lover of history.

The Reformer of Geneva. An Historical Drama. By Professor C. W. SHIELDS. (New York and London : Putnam's Sons.)

THE story of the Reformation in Geneva, as Professor Shields observes, abounds in dramatic materials, and the attempt here made to cast the whole story into a dramatic form, with due regard to the chief actor, has been attended with considerable success. There are indeed some passages of more than ordinary merit which show that Calvin is impressive merely as a dramatic figure. By consulting the appended notes the reader is able to verify the strictly historical portions of the drama. Professor Shields has been particularly indebted to Guizot's sketch of St. Louis and Calvin, and to the memoir on the trial of Servetus contributed to the Geneva Historical Society by Professor Rilliet de Candolle, who based his work on original documents. The titles of the five acts of the drama will show how Professor Shields has arranged his materials. They are The Plot of the Libertines, The Counterplot of the Reformers, The Trial of Servetus, The Judgment of Christendom, and The Triumph of the Reformation. Among the *dramatis personæ* are Ami Perrin, the military chief of the republic who led the patriots of Geneva in their resistance to the Reformer as a foreign innovator; Michael Servetus, the versatile and morally inconsistent Spaniard whom many looked upon as one of the most surprising and influential leaders of the epoch; and Calvin himself, who inspired awe rather than enthusiasm, whose *Institutes* stand out as the most massive product of the literature of the Reformation, and whose exaggerations of those views of St. Augustine which were themselves unduly pressed in one direction have brought about a recoil from the sterner but essential elements of Gospel teaching. We are glad to think that this drama may win attention from those who would not otherwise learn the grave lessons that surround the career of Calvin, the danger of solitary logical processes in the Kingdom of God, the terrible certainty of error which follows from the isolation of vital parts of the Truth which is one, and the inevitable consequences which must always come from swinging the dogmatic pendulum by wilful pressure in one direction alone. From this vivid picture of all that is implied by the name of Geneva, we turn with renewed thankfulness towards the Catholic Church, and a deeper sense of gratitude to the members of the Church of England who in any age prevented the influence of Geneva from being greater than it was.

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More Letters of Edward FitzGerald. Edited by W. ALDIS WRIGHT. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)

To those who know FitzGerald, not merely as the poet who re-created Omar Khayyam, but as the writer of the pleasant letters to Fanny Kemble and other friends, the title of this book is its best advertisement and sufficient review, while to those who do not yet know him in this capacity we can only say that if they have any taste for literature or character they are depriving themselves of a source of pure, if quiet, enjoyment. There are no events in FitzGerald's life. He wrote little, did less, and had no profession; but he had learnt the difficult art of being profitably unemployed, and consequently he was the centre of good healthy influence for his friends and neighbours—high and low alike. Further, he never lost his individuality. He had his own tastes, and was never afraid to express them, though quite simply and naturally, without attempting to impose them on others; nor did it make the least difference in his regard for his friends if he found himself unable to appreciate their writings. He persisted in thinking Tennyson's early poems his best, and if there was any modification in the personal friendship between them in consequence, it was not on FitzGerald's side. He did not greatly care for Homer, still less for Goethe, and wholly failed to see any merit in Browning; but he revelled in Cervantes and Scott, in Dickens and (to a less extent) Thackeray, in Dryden and (perhaps most of all) Crabbe, and of these and many other chance topics he discourses pleasantly and naturally to his friends. He may not be one of the great letter-writers; but in virtue of simple naturalness and cultured taste and genuine friendliness his letters are eminently pleasant companions for a chance half-hour. Of Mr. Aldis Wright's editing we can only say that occasionally we have wished for a somewhat fuller annotation.

Macmillan's Guides: Palestine and Egypt.

THERE is something at first sight very attractive in a guide-book to Palestine and Egypt which is half the thickness and half the price of *Baedeker's Guide* to either country. The volume resembles Murray rather than Baedeker externally, and internally too, in the division of pages into two narrow columns of type—an arrangement soon fatiguing to the eye.

It would have been well if the resemblance to Murray had ended here. Those who are aware of the unfortunate results of Mr. Haskett Smith's editing Murray's *Guide to Palestine* will be distressed to think that the compiler of *Macmillan's Guide* has followed

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Mr. Haskett Smith not only in his ingenious theories of 'The Skull Hill' but also in his violent denunciations of all who uphold the traditional site of Our Lord's entombment. It is pitiable to think that a line of Mrs. Alexander's well-known hymn 'There is a green hill far away' can be quoted as if it were authoritative. There is nothing in the Gospels to suggest that Calvary was a hill. And we would suggest that G. Williams's *Holy City* is no more out of date than Robinson's *Researches*, to which it was the answer.

The meagre list of authorities, etc., on Palestine and Syria on page 137 makes no pretence of including any writer known to be a supporter of the traditional sites, and though reference is made to the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund, no weight is attached in the body of the guide itself to the views put forward by Herr Schick in the P.E.F. quarterly statement of April 1893, or by Canon MacColl in the quarterly statement for July 1901. The whole bias of the works given is antitraditional; most of them are by avowedly 'Protestant' writers.

Hence it is that when a local tradition runs counter to Catholic tradition it is emphasized, as in the case of Sebaste and the murder of John Baptist, p. 74; and there is a curious dogmatism in the identification of Elijah's ravens with Bedouin Arabs, p. 62, and in the derivation of the name 'Copt' from the town Koft, p. 220.

We cannot help thinking how much better prepared for a visit to the Holy Land a traveller would be who had taken the trouble to work on the lines suggested by Canon Dalton, in his lecture (published for 6*d.* by P.E.F.) on *The Modern Traveller in Palestine*, than one who relied on *Macmillan's Guide*. For Egypt its information is acknowledged to be tentative, pp. 141, 179. In regard to Palestine, it is not only in tone but in detail that it is faulty. Some of the maps are on carriers for greater convenience of reference, others not, but without apparent reason. The maps on pp. 93 and 109 seem to have exchanged their real places, and in the map selected as the frontispiece to the volume not only are Egypt and Palestine not shown, but there is no indication of their position relative to the lands and seas represented! Venice and Beyrout are its extreme ports.

The assistance given to travellers in planning out a journey is so slipshod as to be ludicrous, *e.g.* we are told that there are three routes from Jaffa to Jerusalem, of which one is for those who make the journey on horseback. Baedeker says 'ten hours, start early.' Macmillan says 'two days,' but no hint is given as to where the journey may be most suitably broken for the night's camp, and the distances are not marked consistently either by time or mileage. We

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have 'soon,' 'in a short time,' 'at length,' 'after three hours' ride,' 'in about one and a half hours' 'in less than half an hour,' and so are left at El Jib to make our way to Jerusalem without any indication either as to the mileage to be traversed or as to the time required, or as to the quarter from which we shall approach the Holy City. And no improvement on this vagueness is made in any journey through which we have worked.

Clearly the book was never meant for use by the independent traveller. He will still make use of his Baedeker, removing (as it is meant that he should) the sections required for use from the familiar red binding to his pocket, and feeling how simply and easily they slip in. *Macmillan's Guide* could only encourage more implicit confidence in the dragoman of a personally conducted tour. Indeed the 'yachting' notes eulogised in the Preface, together with the advertisements, which cover two pages at the end, suggest that this guide-book is really designed for use on those delightful Mediterranean cruises, with expeditions (if desired) on land, which have made world-wide the fame of 'Co-operative Travel' and the names of Lunn and Perowne.

II.—The Coronation Services.

The Form and Order of the Service that is to be performed, and of the Ceremonies that are to be observed, in the Coronation of their Majesties, King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra, in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Thursday, the 26th day of June, 1902.

The new recension of the Coronation Order, if not all we could have wished, is better than we might have feared. On the whole it is an improvement on the form of 1838, by reason partly of reversions to older recensions, partly of some original modifications; but at the same time nothing has been done to mend the damage done in 1685 and 1689, while some of the changes are regrettable and some are lamentable. Of the reversions, most affect only the wording and the precision of the rubrics, which are adjusted to the text of 1689; but some are more significant and important. The Commandments, which were recited from George II. to Victoria, are happily once more omitted. The threefold unction, on hands and breast and head, with the threefold formula, is restored in place of the merely twofold unction, on head and hands, with a single formula, of William IV. and Victoria. The text of the prayer after the imposition of the crown is restored and so brought into closer relation to the original *Deus corona fidelium*; and the anthem 'Be

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strong' (*Confortare*) appears once more, instead of any of the alternatives which have been used from 1689 onwards; though here we might have expected, especially when some abbreviation was being aimed at, that the same words would have been cut out of the preceding formula and the unnecessary repetition avoided. Again, the text of Cosin's version of *Veni Creator*, which is familiar in Ordinations and in general use, is restored, to the exclusion of the variants of 1689. Among the more original improvements, the most noticeable is the change in the dimensions of the Litany. We do not refer to the reduction of the number of the suffrages, which may or may not be desirable, but to the extrusion of all that follows the *Kyrie eleison*. We should desire to see the same modification made in the Litany as used in Ordinations. It is satisfactory to find the abuse of employing the *Sanctus* as an introit abolished: though we do not understand why the old Offertory and Communion 'O hearken unto the voice of my calling' should be substituted for it, and not the old Introit itself, 'Behold, O God our defender.' There are three changes which may be regarded with mixed feelings. The first oblation is abolished, or rather it is combined with the second; and the largess during the homage disappears. For ourselves we should have desired to keep things as they were; but if abbreviation was desirable, the combination of the two oblations was an obvious means of effecting it, and perhaps the largess is too incongruous with modern feeling to be retained. The third change, the abbreviation of the form of the tradition of the Bible, results in a disproportionately short formula; but, on the other hand, the formula of 1838 was not very happy, and called for improvement by some means. There remain certain things which we deplore, chiefly two—the excision of the remains of the consecratory prayers, and of the proper Preface. It is deplorable that the Litany was moved back at the Coronation of James II., so as to be detached from the consecration; but certain of the consecratory prayers were retained. These were afterwards reduced to the *Deus qui populis*, with the result that no solid body of prayer remained in the whole rite. Now, the remnant that was left is dethroned, and the *Deus qui populis* is made to serve as the Collect, and no consecrating prayer, apart from the prayer of the Unction, remains, except *Veni Creator*. And the proper Preface has been eliminated. This is a return to the Stuart orders; but it is none the better for that. It was bad enough when in 1549, in defiance of Scripture and tradition, the 'eucharistia,' except on a few festivals, was reduced to its mere framework; at this time of day to ignore any opportunity to make it adequate is nothing but an outrage. In the retention of the public Lord's

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Prayer after the Introit and in the excision of the proper Preface, the present rite perpetuates two of the worst features of the English Liturgy. To these unfortunate changes may be added the new rubric directing the vesting of the officiants before the Recognition; the niggling reduction of the formulæ by the excision of a few words here and there, which could take no appreciable time to recite: the new anthem at the homage, 'Kings shall see,' the associations of which are too august for such an use; the somewhat absurd form of the Offertory, with two 'sentences' read by the archbishop, and a third one—the Gradual of *Liber regalis*—sung by the choir; and the omission of the second Offertory prayer and of any proper post-communion collect.

The Form and Order of Service recommended for use in the Churches of the Church of England throughout His Majesty's Empire on Thursday, 26th June, 1902, being the Coronation Day of their Majesties, King Edward and Queen Alexandra.

THERE is generally plenty to criticize in documents of this sort, and the present example is no exception to the rule. It almost starts off with the statement that the Church is 'committed to the charge of the King,' whereas we thought, and the Coronation Order itself asserts expressly, that the Church is committed to the charge of the Bishops and Clergy. It is true that Charlemagne used the phrase, and it is no doubt open to explanation; but we do not live under the Frankish monarchy, and at this moment we do not need phrases bearing on the relations of Church and State which need explanation. After the sermon there is an unhappy allocution, for some reason addressed only to men, which purports to be a description of the Anointing and Crowning of the King and Queen. It might be supposed that the phrase 'are Anointed and Crowned in the manner following' either meant simply what it says, or was a summary title for the whole rite; but the description which follows corresponds to neither of these alternatives: on the one hand it includes the Oath and the delivery of other insignia besides the crown; while on the other hand it ignores the Recognition, the consecration of the King by prayer, the Blessing, the Enthronement, the Oblations, the Communion. More than a third of the whole discourse is taken up with the recitation of the Oath, and even so a fifth of the Oath is omitted—all in fact that relates to the protection of the Bishops and Clergy. Apart from all consideration of accuracy of impression, this disproportionate and detailed treatment of the Oath is thoroughly unfair, since it carries with it 'the Protestant Reformed Religion,' which is quite unbalanced by details of another

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sort, while it is in itself offensive to many people and might well have been avoided at such a moment. The rest of the discourse is discreditably inaccurate. We have already noted the omissions of important features; besides these, it is said that the King is girded with 'the Sword of Justice,' whereas it is with neither of the two Swords of Justice, which are used in the Coronation, but with quite another sword that he is in fact girded; the formula of delivery of one of the Sceptres is made to serve for explanation of four insignia, three of which mean something quite different; it is suggested that the King is not seated in St. Edward's Chair till the Crowning, whereas he is seated there throughout from the Unction till the beginning of *Te Deum*; the formula of the delivery of the Bible is misquoted; it is asserted expressly that the Homage follows the Coronation of the Queen, whereas it always has preceded and still does; and in the text authorised in some dioceses—we notice this is corrected for Winchester—the Homage is described as 'of the Peers and Bishops,' whereas the Bishops' Homage preceded that of the Prince of Wales himself. We are glad to see that the Bishop of Salisbury has publicly noticed the inaccuracy of the allocution, and that some bishops have authorized changes which in some measure, though incompletely, correct it. As to how and where the assortment of prayers selected from the Coronation Order and following the allocution are to be said, no sort of direction is given. We might suggest other criticisms; but these will suffice. We may hope that the postponement of the Coronation, which we have had to deplore, may be turned to account both otherwise, and as an opportunity for improving this function.

III.—Some Episcopal Charges.

(1) The Bishop of Salisbury has accustomed us to expect from him the application of careful, detailed, and sympathetic consideration and wide learning to practical questions of ritual observance; and if we do not always agree with all his conclusions, we have every reason to be grateful to a prelate who thinks it worth while to attempt to get to the bottom of things. His *Further Considerations on Public Worship: a Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Salisbury* (Longmans, 1901) is a new example of his care. It was occasioned by the answers he received to a series of questions addressed to his clergy as to their practice with regard to shortening the order of Holy Communion, duplication, reservation and the communion of the sick, incense, processional lights, books of devotion recommended to their people, and the recitation of Divine Service; and, speaking generally, he deals freshly and independently with each of

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these subjects, except processional lights, of which he found no instance in his diocese. On the first point, he of course requires that the office shall be said as it stands, except in so far as long usage has sanctioned the omission of the long exhortation; and incidentally he repeats his rebuke of the practice of evening Communion, an abuse which is often further aggravated by the curtailment of the liturgy. On duplication the Bishop's remarks are reasonable and seasonable, urging that duplication is lawful for us as things stand, but implying that it ought not to become habitual without real necessity. He appends a note on the requirement of the celebrant's communion at each celebration; on which we may remark that the non-communion of the celebrant, which was anathematised at Trent (Sess. xiii. c. 10), is not, we believe, merely Swedish, but Lutheran; being a deduction from the curious theory that 'sacrament' and 'sacrifice' are incompatible ideas. The most interesting and important section of this *Letter* is that on Reservation, in which the Bishop argues from the language of the rubrics that the rule of 1549 was not really changed in 1552, but lasted till 1662, while even then practice was not conformed to the changed rule, but reservation survived as customary and has been more common than is generally supposed. We are not quite satisfied with the Bishop's argument as a whole; but since he is satisfied with it himself, it is perhaps a little surprising that, except in so far as he is not prepared to press hardly on those who communicate the absent sick straight from the altar immediately after the service—a practice, we may remark, which is quite as contrary to the rubrics as, and does not differ in principle from, any other reservation—he is 'determined' 'to prevent the practice of local reservation,' pleading that the theological situation has been changed since the sixteenth century by increased emphasis on reservation for purposes of worship and the development of Benediction. As to the required number of communicants, the Bishop enforces the rule, but with the reasonable qualification that it only applies where the number is 'not forthcoming, not accidentally or on one or two occasions only, but with some frequency'; and he recognizes that this is a matter affecting the laity, and reminds them of their duty of seeing that the clergy are not deprived of communion through their negligence. The remarks under this head on non-communicating attendance and its results are an expression of opinion on a point on which difference of opinion is quite possible—as to what is the best practical approximation to an ideal. The Church's ideal is communion every Sunday for everyone; since this is practically out of the question, there is still room for the same

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differences of opinion as arose when the difficulty itself arose, while most of Christendom has acquiesced in the view that the second best is the attendance of everyone at the Eucharist, whether communicating or not. But we welcome the Bishop's suggestion that the enforcement of fasting communion might well carry with it a return to the canonical hour of nine as the normal hour for the central celebration, without acquiescing in the argument here repeated that the 'fast' before communion, however prolonged, is of a character to turn Sunday into a 'fast day.' As to incense, the Bishop has not much to say, except that he has required two clergy to refrain from certain ceremonial uses. From a short sketch of the early history of incense he concludes that it is of no great importance—a conclusion which might perhaps be allowed to cut both ways. When he says that the use of incense 'is very much like the use of music without words,' one may be allowed to ask why it is not therefore as allowable as such use of music, for which the Church has certainly made no sort of provision; while in 1549 an organ was officially destroyed as 'idolatrous and superstitious'—a fate which, we believe, cannot be shown to have befallen a censer. Apart from details, the remarks on devotional books seem to be wise in principle. The Bishop desiderates that they be not partisan; that they emphasize the central things, on which there is agreement, and do justice to both sides of them; that they avoid subtleties which are proper matter of theological investigation but have little value for the generality, and that they keep the proportion of Scripture. On the recitation of Divine Service, the Bishop confesses his surprise and disappointment that the obligation is not better understood, and points out to the clergy what their obligation is. And here we also may be allowed some surprise and disappointment. The rule is plain, decisive, indisputable; but whereas—in matters which are open to discussion—the Bishop has 'desired incumbents' to refrain from the use of incense, and is 'determined' to put down reservation, he only asks those who neglect a plain obligation which they have accepted to 'try to find occasion to fulfil' it and 'requests' that the 'rules of the Prayer Book' 'shall be conscientiously'—not obeyed, but—'considered.' Why is this?

(2) The Bishop of Hereford's *Church Work and Church Reform: a Charge* (Rivingtons, 1901) is neither impressive nor illuminating. His review of the condition of his diocese seems to show that things are fairly encouraging. On the Church generally he desires to reiterate the views he propounded three years ago; and he adds the excellent advice to the clergy to study the exegetical work of Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Hort, but without calling their atten-

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tion to Dr. Hort's remarks on Dr. Lightfoot as an exegete. He has a paragraph of commonplace criticism on the Confessional, without any proof given of his assertions. And he concludes with two excursuses: one on Church reform, in which he repeats his proposal for a coalition between a parish council of uncontrolled 'parishioners,' subject to no discipline, and an uncontrolled prelate, to control, and if they are unsubmissive to deprive, the parochial clergy; the other on Biblical Criticism, which is irreproachable and also commonplace, and shows no signs of any special knowledge of the subject.

(3) The Bishop of Norwich's *Second Charge* (Longmans, 1901) is mainly occupied with the Holy Eucharist and Confession and Absolution, and the treatment seems to us to be substantially fair and reasonable. At the same time the charge does not strike us as a document of any distinction, or as a very valuable contribution to the discussion of the subjects with which it deals. It is somewhat controversial, and not always precise and accurate, and sometimes it is exaggerated in statement. And generally it is wanting in massiveness and suggestiveness. There are many points on which we could offer criticism. *E.g.*, the Bishop inveighs strongly against some who emphasize the fact that they are priests, not of the Church of England, but of the Catholic Church; and in this connexion he says that we have only obtained our Orders 'on condition of swearing loyal adherence to the Articles and Prayer Book,' which he equates off-hand with 'the doctrine and discipline of Christ as this Church and Realm have received the same.' While we do not ourselves agree with the deductions which the Bishop criticizes, we must insist that the English Church seems almost to go out of the way to assert that it is ministers of the Church of God which she ordains; and in fact there is no such thing as a minister of the Church of England except in the purely local sense. But what we are more concerned to insist upon is that, whether or not the Articles and Prayer Book are simply equivalent to the doctrine and discipline of Christ as here received, we have not 'sworn' adherence to any of them, nor have we, as the Bishop elsewhere says we have (p. 67), declared that 'we accept *ex animo* the Book of Common Prayer.' Again, the Bishop asserts that our Lord 'says that He gives us His body and blood' (p. 25), and that 'the early writers, avoiding refinements, taught simply that in the Eucharist . . . the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed given to and received by God's faithful people' (p. 26); and again, 'with St. Irenæus and St. Cyril we may say . . . that sacramentally they (the common ordinary bread and wine) become the body and blood of Christ' (p. 28): whereas what our Lord did say

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was that what He took in His hands was His body and His blood; and a corresponding correction must be made as to many at least of the writers referred to, in so far as they are explicit; while SS. Irenæus and Cyril, so far as we remember, say nothing about 'sacramentally.' In other words, the Bishop has unconsciously modified the evidence in view of the conclusion which is to be drawn. Again, whereas the Bishop says (p. 37) that the view that 'what is offered in the Eucharist is "the body and blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine" is a modern revival of a mediæval notion,' we are not satisfied that the view, at least in the sense in which the Bishop seems to understand it, is mediæval at all, still less that 'elevation' naturally resulted from it, since elevation has nothing to do with sacrifice. And when he disclaims (p. 39) for the Anglican Church and divines any sanction for the teaching that 'the body of Christ within the species ought to be or may be adored with the adoration due to God,' we would ask where such teaching is sanctioned: certainly not by the Tridentine canon. And we should be inclined to think that it would be truer to say that the doctrine of concomitance was the outcome of communion in one kind than *vice versa*; while we fail to understand the Bishop's deprecation of concomitance, or what he could mean by non-concomitance, especially since he himself states concomitance in principle on the next page to that on which he criticizes it (p. 40). And why is the 'distinction' between 'the adoration of the consecrated species and that of the body of Christ present in the consecrated species' more 'refined' or more 'sure to be misunderstood' than the distinction between the adoration of the humanity of our Lord and that of our Lord in His humanity? And yet we conceive the Bishop would allow that the latter distinction is real and necessary. We do not at all grasp what is the peculiarity of the form in which our Absolutions are cast to which the Bishop refers on p. 72; nor do we think that the exhortations are an unique feature in the Book of Common Prayer, seeing that they are there probably suggested by Lutheran forms, and in fact, whether suggested by the Lutheran use or themselves the origin of it, such exhortations are found in the German diocesan *Ritualia* of the sixteenth century. In reference to the note on p. 59, we would remark that if *Penitentials* are to be taken in evidence, whatever may be the modern Russian practice, the Greek administration of Penance has involved about as much of scrutiny and interrogation as is possible. Lastly, we notice that, like the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Norwich, while vehement in his strictures on some people, deals with comparative gentleness with those who ignore the obligation of the Divine Service.

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(4) Anyone who desires a succinct statement of the grounds on which the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister is maintained will find them calmly stated in the Bishop of Vermont's *Marriage with Relatives: prohibited Degrees of Kindred and Affinity: a Charge* (Longmans, 1901), in which, in view of the practical silence of the American Church on the subject hitherto, and present synodical proceedings, he follows up his treatment of divorce in his charge of 1896 with a treatment of the other question.

IV.—General Theology.

Counsels for Church People from the Writings of the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Mandell Creighton, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of London. Selected and arranged by J. H. Burn, B.D. (London: Elliot Stock, 1901.)

The high position which, as Bishop of London, Dr. Creighton attained in the Church, his eminence in literature as an historian, his personal qualities which endeared him to many, and above all his tragic death by which he was cut off in the middle of his career, all have thrown around his memory a profound feeling of sympathy not unmingled with distress. To his many admirers this little book of memorials will be welcome. It contains grave deliverances on many of the great questions affecting the Church, extracts from some of his most striking sermons and devotional utterances on the Cross of Christ, and on the Seven Last Words.

To take these last first, we find them pervaded by a deep feeling of devotion to Christ, and to the great work of His Redemption. It would appear that amid all his profound studies, amid the engrossing labours of his official life, Christ the Incarnate Son of God was the guiding star of his life. His discourses on the Seven Last Words are very striking, and in one of the sermons comparing the Christian to the merchantman of the parable seeking goodly pearls, while he does not depreciate the goodly pearls of mundane success, he yet concludes that without finding the One Pearl of great price all will be in vain.

If we turn to the pronouncements on the great Church questions we find them of the most varied character. Church and State, Church and Society, Church and Education, Disestablishment, the Fundamental Principle of the Church of England, the appeal to the Primitive Church. Such are some of the subjects on which he pronounced. Then, in addition to this we have his views on Old Testament Criticism, and his plea for a suspension of judgment. The Bishop had a keen eye for popular movements and tendencies

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of thought. As an historian it was his business to analyse and measure these in expounding the past. And that being so, it will be found that his remarks in regard to present tendencies and movements are very valuable.

In regard to the fundamental principle of the Church of England we have his well-known remark that it consisted in sound learning. The remark has been much criticised, yet we think it is substantially correct. All depends on the notion we have of the Christian Revelation. Was it a Revelation given once for all? As Christ redeemed the world by His first coming, was the faith of that Redemption, viewed as a system of doctrine and practice, once for all delivered to the saints to be held fast to the end? If so, the Reformation of the Church, that is, in other words, the casting out of noxious accretions and abuses, could only be accomplished by sound learning. The Holy Scriptures interpreted by the faith and practice of the Primitive Church must be patiently studied in order to accomplish the end. On the other hand if we look on the Christian Revelation as a progressive system, in accordance with the Doctrine of Development, now extensively held in the Roman Communion, the principle of sound learning would not apply. The Doctrine of Development carries the implication that the faith and practice of the Primitive Church were, to say the least, imperfect, and consequently sound learning would not suffice. The Bishop's view, however, is supported by the constant appeal of the Anglican Communion to the Holy Scriptures interpreted by the faith and practice of the undivided Church.

Essays and Studies. By ROBERT SINKER, D.D. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. London: George Bell & Sons, 1900.)

THIS small volume consists of a very miscellaneous collection of ten 'essays and studies' which have been reprinted, with two exceptions, from magazines. The subjects are mostly theological, treated in a popular but scholarly way. The first four appeared originally in the *Churchman*. The first deals with the *Pirke Aboth*, and consists mainly of extracts from that collection of sayings which are often sensible, but sometimes fantastic. It is curious that no mention should be made in the Essay of Dr. Taylor's editions of these sayings, but that was perhaps unnecessary for Dr. Sinker's purpose. As librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, he is especially qualified to write of the famous Milton Manuscript in that library, which forms the subject of the second essay. Dr. Sinker illustrates the minute care spent by the poet on the details of his work, some of the sonnets having been written several times over, and one poem 'At a solemn

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musick' is written out, with sundry variations, three times, and the concluding lines four times. Many other instances of this care are quoted and, to use Dr. Sinker's words, are of interest as letting us in behind the scenes, and illustrating the working of the poet's mind. In discussing the authorship of Ps. cx. Dr. Sinker pleads that no case has been made out for giving up the Davidic authorship, and as against the refinements of some of the very advanced critics we may support his claim that often 'it is not so much scholarship as keen logical common sense that is wanted which shall rigorously refuse to treat assertion and demonstration as the same.' In one of the later essays Dr. Sinker discusses the renderings for the Hebrew word *kippod*, which the A.V. translated *bittern* and the R.V. has altered to *porcupine*, and comes to the conclusion that the balance of probability is strongly in favour of our viewing the *kippod* as a bird. It was a comparatively easy task which Dr. Sinker set himself in the next essay, viz. to demolish the argument which traces the use of ecclesiastical vestments to apostolic times, and to do this relies on the rendering (ii. Tim. iv. 13) of φελόνης by Chasuble. The two concluding essays, which do not seem to have been in print before, deal with *Turning to the East at the Creed*, and *Grace at Meals in the Jewish Church*. They are both short and slight. The custom of turning to the east is regarded as originally Jewish, though the influence of sun worship may also have been a contributing cause. The last essay draws attention to the minute prescriptions regulating the formulæ to be used, according to the nature of the food to be eaten, the number of persons present, and other similar details. One instance may suffice:

'Suppose that a man has eaten a meal and has forgotten to say the grace after it, the School of Shammai bid that he return to his place and there say the grace; but the School of Hillel (here, as in so many other details, the more liberal) say "Let him say the grace in the place where he remembers." But then the doubt may arise, how long will this concession to human forgetfulness hold good? "Till the food is digested in the stomach."'

As we said at the beginning of this notice, the essays are scholarly, and they are clearly and carefully put together, but they do not represent any very solid contribution to theological study, though they contain a number of interesting details.

On the Path of Progress. By H. L. Jackson, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1901.)

Mr. Jackson is a fair-minded and candid critic of the National Church, and deals in this little volume with the need of a 'Forward

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Movement.' The chief fault of the book is an undue self-consciousness of style—an egotism which the writer takes no pains to repress. What could be in worse taste than such endings to chapters (originally sermons) than the following?

'Here this chapter shall end. I have just read it through—to find out whether there be anything in it which suggests high-flown language instead of plain statements of what I hold to be true. But the only thing that occurs to me is that I have given you my candid opinions in rather poor style. Perhaps I shall do better in the next chapter.'

The next chapter (wrongly numbered ii. instead of iii.) ends as follows:

'And so we have finished talking together on the subject of "loyalty." It has certainly done me good to set down some of my thoughts about it. I wonder if you find yourselves able to follow them. They have been put before you to the best of my ability.'

Mr. Jackson somewhere remarks, 'It is likely enough that the word "dangerous" will be applied to my book.' We think that he alarms himself unnecessarily. The discussion of current topics is too slight and superficial, his 'protests' are too good-naturedly expressed, to arouse either alarm or indignation in the average reader's mind. There is, indeed, some mild criticism of Sunday schools, which 'the average parent of to-day regards as a convenient Sunday *crèche*.' There is an attack on the 'unmitigated selfishness' of the average church-goer, some strictures on the bustling activity of the clergy, a gently expressed condemnation of the 'self-styled "advanced" churchman' and of the 'ultra-Puritan,' and an earnest apology for 'the new learning of to-day'; but we have sought in vain for any 'dangerous' sentiments. Perhaps the following dark hints ought to set our nerves tingling, but so far 'our withers are unwrung':

'The thought is often forced home to me that a large number of people (amongst them, I fancy, not a few of the clergy) have no conception whatever of the extent to which this questioning, doubting, denying obtains. They remind me only too often of the legend which used to be told of the ostrich: they, so to speak, bury their heads in the sand, and then persuade themselves that all is well. I cannot so blind myself to what I know to be facts.'

Mr. Jackson, however, deserves credit for the courage and tact with which he pleads the cause of Progress before a congregation which may have been a little slow to apprehend his meaning. On the whole he is in sympathy with those whom he styles the 'Progressives.' He admires (perhaps somewhat indiscriminately) the writers in *Lux Mundi*, the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, and the contributors to the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. He warns his hearers that

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'the men who may perhaps startle and distress' them 'by their words and their writings may be nevertheless the truth-seekers, the pioneers, the prophets, the reformers whom God has raised up'; and he deprecates precipitate action of any kind, especially in regard to the revision of the Prayer-book or the Creeds. If the book, as a whole, is critical rather than constructive, this is due to limitations in the author's knowledge rather than to the nature of his standpoint. On the problems which at present occupy the attention of Church reformers—questions of representation in the Church's synods, the rights and position of the laity, &c.—he has apparently no suggestions to offer. He contents himself with expressing in general terms the opinion that something wants doing.

A History of the Plymouth Brethren. By W. Blair Neatly. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)

This is an entirely different kind of book from what might be expected from the title, the frontispiece, and the first page. What first meets the eye on opening the book is a portrait of one of the chief founders of 'Brethrenism' (what a horrible word!), with a facsimile of his signature, 'Your affectionate brother in Christ, J. N. Darby'; then comes the Preface, in which the author claims, with justice, that his book 'takes the field without rivals. No general history of the Plymouth movement has ever been undertaken.' And the work itself begins with a stricture upon Dr. Alexander, the present Primate of Ireland. From all this anyone would naturally anticipate an indiscriminate glorification of Brethrenism, varied with a little abuse of the system of which the *Church Quarterly Review* is an organ. But he will find nothing of the kind. The writer seems all through to play the part of Balaam reversed. He is evidently well acquainted with the whole subject, and has derived his knowledge from the inside. But what the Plymouth Brethren themselves will think of their historian is another matter. If they have an *Index Expurgatorius*, it seems to us that the work should be put upon it. The reviewer of the book from a Church standpoint finds himself in somewhat the same ludicrous position in which Mr. Palmer found himself in 1844, when he was prepared to combat 'Ideal Ward' on the Roman question. He girded himself for the fray, but, lo! there was no enemy. Mr. Ward admitted all, and more than all, that Mr. Palmer was prepared to prove. So likewise we, when the *History of the Plymouth Brethren* was put into our hands, began at once, if the homely expression may be allowed, to tuck up our sleeves, and prepare for the fight. But there need be no fight. The work is already done to our hands by the historian himself, and the

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Church reader needs no further warning against 'Brethrenism' than the plain story of it as told in these pages. Hence, the scissors and paste, not the pen, are the most effectual weapons in such a warfare, and these are the weapons which we shall now venture to use. The author, then, tells us at the outset:

'The Brethren sought to effect a fresh start without authority, precedent, or guidance beyond the letter of Holy Scripture. For them, essentially, the garnered experience of eighteen Christian centuries was as though it was not' (p. 3).

Starting thus with their minds, like a blank sheet of paper, open to any impression, they devoted themselves to the most mysterious of all subjects:

'The study of unfulfilled prophecy was a prominent feature of the movement from the first; or perhaps it would be more correct to say that it was one of the main foundations of the whole system' (p. 12).

Another feature, closely connected, as will be seen, with this study, is thus described by Mr. Neatly:

'For better or for worse, it gradually became the law of Brethrenism to disown all regularly constituted authority, all orderly arrangement, and all prudential provision, even for emergencies that are bound to arise. How far a now somewhat prolonged experience yields a verdict favourable to such a procedure will perhaps appear in the course of this history.

'Very closely linked with what might be called the "haphazardism" of the Brethren is their attitude towards the question of *unfulfilled* prophecy. Brethrenism may even be held to derive its very existence from the new prophetic studies to which the unsettlement of men's minds, consequent on the long agony of the Napoleonic wars, gave rise' (p. 38).

Some very eminent men, as Mr. Neatly shows, joined, either temporarily or permanently, the Brethren. Among them, perhaps the most notable was Francis William Newman, the younger brother of John Henry; and we agree with Mr. Neatly that in point of ability the younger brother was equal to the elder (p. 45). But he can hardly be cited as a proof of the strength of Brethrenism, for after a very 'brief and enthusiastic career among the Brethren,' he passed to Arianism, and then to Deism (p. 69). Another celebrity who was for a time connected with the Brethren was Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, the great Biblical scholar, whose labours are the common heritage of all Christendom; but *he*, again, deserted the cause, becoming a Presbyterian in his later life. Benjamin W. Newton, a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and a First Classman (though

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Mr. Neatly does not mention this), was also a man of note, and so was G. V. Wigram, brother of the Bishop of Rochester. Nor must we fail to do justice to the self-sacrificing goodness of Anthony Norris Groves, and the probity and good sense of J. V. Parnell, afterwards Lord Congleton. But the ruling spirit of the movement was J. N. Darby:

'The maker of Brethrenism as a system, its guiding and energising spirit throughout, was John Nelson Darby. In the grandeur of his conceptions, in the irresistible vehemence of his will, in his consummate strategical instinct, in his genius for administration, and most of all in his immense personal ascendency, he stands unrivalled among the Brethren' (p. 44).

This is one side of the picture; but there is a very unpleasant reverse. We hear of 'Darby's uncharitable, not to say outrageous, imputation on Wesleyanism that it hardly contained any real Christians' (p. 80); and, in reference to his dispute with Newton:

'Darby was blinded by passionate prejudice. Whatever Newton's speculative errors may have been, there is not, I am persuaded, a single paragraph in all his writings that would afford colourable ground for charging him with indifference to the glory of Christ [a charge which Darby made against Newton *totidem verbis*]. If Darby had deliberately sat down to devise the most malignant lie that could be told against his neighbour, he could scarcely have done worse' (p. 132).

Among other amenities, Darby declares: 'I have not the least doubt . . . that Mr. Newton received his prophetic system by direct inspiration from Satan' (p. 133). One of the warmest supporters of Mr. Darby was Mr. Wigram, and Mr. Neatly writes:

'The fact was that Wigram and his like—men that never flinched from doing their chief's work, however tedious and disgusting it might be—were indispensable to Darby, as such men are to every party leader; and he simply could not afford to disown them' (p. 172).

One more specimen may be given:

'If Darby did not know that he was writing a lie, it could only have been that the Bethesda frenzy had rendered him incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood' (p. 257).

After all this it is hardly necessary to add that Mr. Neatly is not a 'Darbyite.' But he does not write very hopefully of the other party, who were called 'Open Brethren,' in contradistinction to the 'Exclusive Brethren,' of whom Darby was the head:

'Unhappily, the Exclusive party does not stand alone in the view that all non-Brethrenist worship is schismatic. Among the Open Brethren a certain section (undoubtedly considerable, though I cannot say what

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proportion of the whole it constitutes) maintains the same opinion, and denies that any company of Christians meets in the name of the Lord Jesus, except those that practise open ministry. To such people it has proved vain to point out that they underrate many a company of persecuted saints of evangelical faith who, in defence of what the Brethren wholly believe to have been the truth of the Gospel, have worshipped in prison-cells or in "dens and caves of the earth." They refuse to recognize this as a *reductio ad absurdum*, and maintain that between the first and nineteenth centuries no Christian assemblies had any status "before God"' (pp. 201–2).

By 'open ministry,' or 'liberty of ministry,' is meant that everyone who felt himself under the influence of the Holy Spirit was thereby qualified to exercise his ministry, and Mr. Neatly ruthlessly exposes the inconveniences resulting from such a theory:

'The notion of a quasi-inspiration took firm hold of the minds of the Brethren generally. If two Brothers began ministering simultaneously (which necessarily happened tolerably frequently, though not often to any distressing extent), it was always assumed that one at least was to blame for not being "in the Spirit." A censorious person would doubtless lay the blame on his rival. A humble-minded person would be grievously distressed in his conscience lest it should be he that had marred the harmony of "the Spirit's action in the assembly"' (pp. 205–6).

'I myself well remember a Brother, who had been publicly corrected for a preposterous exposition, consoling himself afterwards by the assurance that "the Spirit had given him the Word." His critic's comment was that "the Spirit did not give erroneous expositions"' (p. 206).

'Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity!' said the Psalmist; but this was a joy in which *our* 'Brethren' did not share. Instead of unity, there were innumerable divisions among them. There were 'Darbyites,' 'Kellyites,' 'Cluffites,' 'Grantites,' 'Ravenists,' 'Stuartites,' 'Walkerites,' all taking their names from favourite leaders, and all mentioned by Mr. Neatly. There were 'Open Brethren' and 'Exclusive Brethren'; and 'Brethrenism' itself was not a wide enough designation to embrace them all, so a still more euphonious title was invented for some, to wit, 'New Lumpism.' Mr. Neatly informs us, and we believe he is quite correct, that more converts were made from the Church than from the ranks of Dissent. But surely 'Brethrenism' was, after all, a sorry substitute for the historic Church of England!

The Story of Fifty Years' Mission Work in Chota Nagpur. By the Rev. Eyre Chatterton, B.D. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1901.)

Neatly bound, well printed and furnished with a useful map and a large number of good illustrations, chief among which is the beautiful

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portrait of the Right Rev. J. C. Whitley, the first Bishop of Chota Nagpur, we have here told in a very simple and interesting manner the story of the Chota Nagpur Mission from its inception by Johannes Gossner, a converted Roman Catholic priest, in 1844, to the present year, when the number of Christian Kôls amounts to 100,000, and 'thousands more are pressing into the Church.' Incidentally, much curious information is given concerning the manners, customs and beliefs of the Kôls, and a most interesting account of the Dublin University Mission. To all interested in foreign missions, or in the future of our Indian Empire, we echo the words of the Bishop of Chota Nagpur in his preface: 'I most heartily commend it to the attention of all classes of readers. It will lead to an increase of missionary work generally, and specially that which is connected with my own diocese.' Full as it is of instructive matter, it is adapted to the capacity of the young reader, and it would be hard to find a better book for a Sunday school prize.

The Way of Perfection and Conceptions of Divine Love. By SAINT TERESA. Translated from the Spanish by the REV. JOHN DALTON. (London: Thomas Baker, 1901.)

THIS is an adequate translation of two works from the pen of the great St. Teresa, which derive some interest from the fact of her authorship, but outside the walls of a Roman Catholic convent can be of little service, except perhaps to the student of religious phenomena. The first, entitled *The Way of Perfection*, is a discursive treatise on the spiritual life, according to the monastic ideal of the sixteenth century, which will recommend itself to very few outside monasteries in this. It embodies a series of discourses on *Prayer*, addressed to the nuns of the monastery she had founded of St. Joseph's at Avila. The translator eulogises it as 'a beautiful work,' 'the precious manuscript of which is preserved to this day in the Royal Library of the Escurial'; and thinks the writer must have been 'divinely assisted.' A certain triviality of thought and familiarity in addressing the Divine Being forbid us to join in such eulogy, while we note, not without a smile, certain touches of the world which reveal in the devout recluse the Spanish lady of the sixteenth century.

The full title of the second work is *Conceptions of Divine Love on some words of the Book of Canticles.* Only seven chapters of the book are extant, and of those seven only four are here translated. The preface informs us that when the Saint had finished the work, she showed it to one of her confessors who, 'thinking it a dangerous thing, especially for a *woman*, to write on so difficult a subject, com-

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manded her to commit it to the flames.' She obeyed; but the Lord was pleased that a certain nun should previously copy the seven first chapters, which we now possess. As might be expected from such a writer on such a subject, the Saint allows herself in this treatise what she herself calls an 'amourousness' of devotion, which it would be very hard to persuade the English reader either to like or to think reverent or wholesome. Here and there we come across a shrewd remark, thus: 'How many things are there in the Psalms, which when explained to us in Spanish are as obscure as if they were in Latin. Be always on your guard against perplexing your mind or tiring yourselves, since women need no more than suits their capacity; and in this, God confers a favour on us.' Of the sixty-eight aphorisms in the appendix, we select the forty-fourth as excelling the rest both in neatness and novelty. It runs thus: 'Make no comparisons; for they are odious things.'

The Song of Songs. Selections from the Sermons of S. Bernard, with Notes and Introduction by BRUCE BLAXLAND, M.A. (Methuen: Library of Devotion Series.)

AT a time when so much attention is being directed to mystical writers, it would have been a pity if S. Bernard's sermons on the Canticles had not found an editor and translator. It is true that the allegorical interpretation of the *Song of Songs* has at times stimulated the morbid eroticism which is the most unpleasing feature of monastic devotional literature; but though S. Bernard may be regarded as the founder of this method of treating the Jewish romance, there is little in his sermons that a modern reader may not admire, and much that he ought to be the better for having read. Even the quaintnesses of an allegorical method which hardly professes to be exegetical often seem to enhance the beauty of the thoughts. Such passages as the paragraph about knowledge and the various motives with which it is sought (p. 114), and the whole of the beautiful sermon (xxxi.) on the Vision of God, must be valued as long as devotional literature is studied.

The introduction is mainly biographical, and is not made very interesting. The translation is the work of the late Dr. S. Eales. Mr. Blaxland's selection is on the whole judicious, and contains the best of the sermons.

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Old Anglicanism and Modern Ritualism. By the Rev. F. MEYRICK, M.A., Rector of Blickling, Non-Residentiary Canon of Lincoln; late Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. (London: Skeffington and Son. 1901.)

THE object of this book is to show that the teaching of those whom Canon Meyrick styles the 'Ritualists'[1] is fundamentally opposed to that of the great Anglican divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The main line of argument adopted in it is that the central doctrine of the 'Ritualists' is the 'dogma' 'of the objective presence of Christ in the elements' 'in the Lord's Supper' (Preface, p. viii; cf. p. 241); that this dogma 'is only intelligible when it takes the form of either Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation' (p. 243); that 'Consubstantiation' is repudiated by 'the new school' (*ibid.*); and that, since they are thus driven to accept 'Transubstantiation,' it is 'sufficient,' for the purpose of showing their departure from the beliefs of 'the seventeenth-century divines,' 'to cite the condemnation of Transubstantiation which is common to all' the latter (*ibid.*). In addition, Canon Meyrick quotes a page and a half (pp. 243, 244) of passages from Hooker, Andrewes, Cosin, Taylor, and Beveridge, which he describes as 'definite denials of the dogma in its unscientific and half-developed form as the objective presence in the elements' (p. 243).

The book does not show that Canon Meyrick has made any real attempt to understand the position of either the 'Ritualists' or the Anglican divines from whose works he makes voluminous quotations about various 'Roman doctrines' (p. 5). On the Holy Eucharist, which he himself describes as the crucial point, we find sentences of Hooker, Bishop Andrewes, Archbishop Laud, and others quoted without any reference to passages which throw an important light on their meaning. The teaching on this subject of the writers whom he cites is of some importance and great difficulty; and he would have done useful work if he had made an accurate study of it and published a fair presentation of the results. The treatment of Hooker is not quite so lamentable as that of Andrewes and Laud. But, even in this case, he falls under the condemnation passed by the Bishop of Oxford on those who try to force the language of Hooker

[1] Canon Meyrick calls 'Ritualism' an 'ill-chosen name' (Preface, p. ix), and writes of the 'Neo-Anglican school improperly called "Ritualistic"' (p. 241). It is therefore difficult to see why he has selected these words for use in his title and throughout his book. They are not the words which the party referred to would themselves choose.

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into an affirmation or a denial from which alike it was his purpose to abstain.[1]

Controversial handling of historical questions like that in the book before us is most mischievous. If we are to reach truth at all, it will be by honestly facing the facts. Probably there is a good deal in the history of the Church of England which might be fairly claimed by Canon Meyrick in defence of his own position, and much in the seventeenth-century divines which differs from the teaching of many of the 'Ritualists.' But it is as damaging to Canon Meyrick's own views as it is uncritical and unhistorical to publish such a misleading representation of the particular writers treated of as is found in the present volume. It may, perhaps, serve the ends of those who wish for a supply of quotations to fling at opponents. It will be useless to those who are seeking to ascertain the truth.

Christian Study Manuals. Edited by the Rev. R. E. WELSH, M.A. (1) *Ruling Ideas of our Lord.* By the Rev. C. F. D'ARCY, D.D. (2) *The Early Church.* By the Rev. Professor JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D. (3) *Protestant Principles.* By the Rev J. M. GIBSON, D.D. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)

IF our readers are acquainted with Mr. Welsh's own views of the Christian ministry they will know what the general drift of a series is likely to be which is issued under his direction. The first two books in the series are better than Mr. Welsh's name would lead us to expect, but the third frankly declares that the writer's controversy is not with the Roman Church alone, but with all who hold the Sacerdotal system, 'of whom the Anglo-Catholics are for us the most important.'

Dr. D'Arcy is far from ignoring the vital connexion between morality and dogma, indeed he speaks of its importance more than once. But by speaking of moral ideas first, and religious ideas second, he somewhat obscures the principle that the great verities of the Christian faith are the roots from which the flowers and fruit of Christian virtue spring. The moral ideas which are dwelt upon are the Kingdom, the pure heart, the great Example, and life and growth. The religious ideas are The Father, The Son, The Paraclete, and The fulness of Christ. There are some excellent passages on some of these topics, but on the Church and the Sacraments the book is much too vague to be useful.

Dr. Orr's books on early Christian subjects are well known to

[1] See Paget, *An Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, pp. 175, 176.

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our readers, as we have often drawn attention to the fresh interest of some parts of them. This little book on the history and literature of the ante-Nicene period is not without attractive qualities of the same kind. The frontispiece is a page of Christian symbols in the Catacombs photographed from casts of the originals, and the subject is treated in an orderly way from early Jewish and Gentile Christianity through the age of the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists down to the close of the great persecutions. Such literature as the Ignatian letters causes some difficulty to a Professor of the Scotch United Free Church, and the list of books given at the close of each chapter leaves out some useful and important works which we should mention, and which we must add would render the perusal of Professor Orr's little book superfluous.

Dr. Gibson's *Protestant Principles*, from which we have already quoted, need not detain us long. He divides his subject into the Word, the Work, and the Church of Christ. We entirely accept the principle, which he calls the central principle of Protestantism, of 'the all-sufficiency of Christ,' but the Christ whom we accept is the eternal Son of God who has taken up into union with Himself a mortal nature in order that He might die for man, and make His risen and glorified humanity the channel of His Grace. And that principle in our view is the justification of Christ's appointment of Sacramental agency of all kinds in His Kingdom. We respect Dr. Gibson's sincerity, but fundamentally differ from him.

Purgatory, the State of the Faithful Departed, Invocation of Saints. Three Lectures. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity at Cambridge. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901.)

DR. MASON says in his Preface that the three lectures which this little book contains were delivered in June 1901 to the clergy of Leeds and the neighbourhood, and that

'the subject was chosen because the lecturer believed that there was a certain tendency to revolt against what has been called "the Anglican tradition" on the subject of the Intermediate State and kindred subjects' (p. v).

This belief of his may perhaps partially explain a difference which marks the presentation of historical evidence and the treatment of practical questions which spring out of it. The statements of evidence are eminently fair and scholarly. The teaching of the writers of the Early Church on the subjects dealt with is very well set out. If there is some slight bias shown when the well-known passage in Origen's treatise on prayer is said to have no reference to

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the invocation of saints (p. 116),[1] that is exceptional. On the other hand, when practical questions are approached, Dr. Mason has not been able to divest himself of animus against the Church of Rome and the Eastern Churches, as may be seen by his repeated description of their custom of invoking the saints as 'polytheism' (pp. 123, 131), his strange idea that there is an 'Anglican tradition' of value about the intermediate state (Preface, pp. v–xiv), and his apparent indifference to the disadvantages of isolation.

So far, then, as Dr. Mason's book is a statement of Early Church teaching on the subjects with which he deals, it is entitled to most cordial welcome and approval as clear and accurate. So far as it is a polemic, it cannot be received with equal gratitude. And it is lacking in recognition of the fact that a good deal still remains to be said when it has been shown at what date a doctrine or a practice began to be strongly marked.

The Universal Obligation of Tithes. By a BARRISTER. (London: Elliot Stock, 1901.)

THIS would have been a most useful book to lend to laymen who do not fully recognize that their property is a trust from God, if the writer had not spoiled it by his theories as to the application of the tithe.

He begins by taking as his text the inscription on the front of the Royal Exchange, 'The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof' and proceeds to show that God claims a certain proportion of all property. All will agree with him when he states:

'The idea of ownership, absolute ownership, as regards whatever can be appropriated legitimately at any rate, of the good things of this world is almost universally, if unconsciously, present to men's thoughts. The view that on the contrary nothing at all belongs to man but all to God—that man himself belongs to God—that he is dependent every day and every moment upon God for the continuance of such possessory rights as he does enjoy—that—in other words—they are *being* rather than *have been* given . . . is seldom at hand to check the arrogant assumption of the creature man who ignores and forgets God, the Maker and Giver of all' (p. 5).

And he proceeds to show that God has seen fit to keep the truth before men by demanding from them a proportion of their property as 'rent,' to use a legal phrase, to prevent a right to 'adverse possession.' He shows how the tithe was reserved from all property and that one-tenth was the minimum expected from Christian men. The writer traces the forgetfulness of the truth to the steps which

[1] See Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 185, note 1.

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had to be taken to enforce payment of the 'false tithe' from the land, and to such compulsory payments is due the gradual disappearance in the Christian Church of the idea of tithe as a debt due to God. He pleads eloquently and forcibly for the restoration of the forgotten duty—showing from the Income-tax returns that a due payment of the tithe on the income of England would yield an annual sum of 50,000,000*l.*, and that to withhold the tithe is not mere robbery but sacrilege—a robbery of God—a profane use of something consecrated. In his last chapter he discusses the manner in which the duty is to be discharged. The tithe cannot be laid 'at the Apostles' feet' because there are no Apostles now, and the Church of God has no visible Head on earth.

'The dismemberment of the Church in England' reduces faithful men to trust to their individual responsibility as to the mode in which the tithe is to be used. Faithful Jews still strictly pay their tithe, but 'for want of priesthood and temple' use it for the support of synagogues and charities, so similarly he suggests that Christian men should pay theirs to hospitals, the poor and their education—quoting St. Augustine, 'What Christ receiveth not, the Publican seizeth'—but concludes that it is better to throw the tithe over London Bridge than to use it as if it were one's own property.

On page 72, he is greatly confused between the monastic revival in the twelfth century and the Preaching Friars of the thirteenth, and he apparently thinks that most of the tithe in the Middle Ages was owned by foreign monasteries.

His style is often obscure, and it is a pity that a book written in such an earnest spirit should have its usefulness spoiled by his ignorance of the identity of the Church with that of 'the first days,' and of the obligation laid on Christian men to provide for the worship of Almighty God as well as for the bodies and souls of His Poor.

He deplores the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, by which a divine obligation has been reduced to a mere compulsory money tax on land.

Spiritual Progress: *A Book for Young Communicants.* By G. R. Wynne, Archdeacon of Aghadoe. (S.P.C.K., 1901.)

This is likely to be a very useful book to those for whom it was written, viz. those who have a real desire to progress in the spiritual life and are earnestly looking for some help to aid them in their purpose.

The teaching is very simple but very clear, and deals with various parts of the spiritual progress from the 'threshold' to active work for God. One point the writer emphasises which too often is omitted in such books. He is very clear on the social character of the

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Christian life. Not only is public worship a duty, but the use of it is necessary for the full development of the Christian character. 'Can we view Christian progress as so exclusively a personal thing that we can expect half-a-dozen individuals in any congregation to be making real advances to a higher life while they are indifferent to, and unaffected by, the stagnant and unadvancing life of those who kneel or sit in the next seat' (p. 117). This is somewhat too often forgotten by the average church-goer. So too the Holy Communion, besides the benefit received by individual souls, is a great social action of the highest type. It can never be celebrated in solitude, it is a communion —a bond between several—and neglect of it is a loss not only to the individual but also to the Church.

The last section is an important one on 'variety'—one person is able to do work for God in a way in which another cannot, as the Spirit divides His gifts 'to each man severally as He will.'

Neglected People of the Bible. By DINSDALE T. YOUNG. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)

THE preface states that 'these sermons are extempore in the most absolute sense,' and this will explain their style, full of questions addressed to the reader and of interjectory clauses, which are rather wearisome to a reader however attractive they may have been to the hearers. The writer is evidently a nonconformist and repeatedly urges his hearers to pray and seek for the New Birth. These sermons would have been more useful, it seems to us, if they had been published in the analytical form as heads for private meditation, for they show extremely careful study of the Bible history of the persons dealt with, with much useful application to present-day needs. They suggest useful courses for Bible classes—or even courses of sermons. But would a Churchman who regards the Church Calendar class St. Mark and St. Barnabas as neglected Bible characters? And is Isaac never preached about?

The best sermon is on 'Saul and the Witch of Endor,' with a strong protest against modern Spiritualism.

His style must have been irritating to an educated audience owing to its disjointed character, and such expressions as 'to diabolise,' 'Sin un-Sauls Saul' and 'to be historified' are hardly English.

The Atonement and Intercession of Christ. By the late Principal D. C. DAVIES, of Trevecca. Edited by D. E. JENKINS. (T. and T. Clark, 1901.)

THE volume is prefaced by a short biography of the writer, who seems to have been placed in the front rank of Welsh theologians

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and preachers by his contemporaries. He was preacher for the Welsh Methodist Congregation at Fann Street Chapel, London, from 1859 till 1882, 'and laboured hard for the mental and spiritual needs of the London Welsh churches, preaching once every Sunday in his own pulpit.' In 1888 he became Principal of Trevecca College, where he died three years afterwards. He is represented as a most eloquent preacher, a keen and logical thinker, and one whose personal charm was almost beyond words.

The volume itself is the reprint of a series of articles which appeared nearly forty years ago in the Welsh magazine *Yr Arweinydd*. They lack an introduction from the hand of the author, and it is difficult to discover the exact aim of the articles. If the volume was intended to be a review of the doctrine of the Atonement, it is sadly one-sided, and if it is intended to be an exposition of one side of the doctrine, it is very misleading. The volume cannot be compared with such masterly treatises as Dr. Dale's book on the Atonement, or Dr. Milligan's on the Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord, or Dr. Moberley's great book. In fact, it is difficult to see why the articles have been reprinted, as they deal with a phase of thought now out of date, and the ground has been so much better covered by more recent books.

The writer states that:

'A man knowing only his native tongue has therefore just to search the Scriptures thoroughly and thoughtfully, to compare verse by verse—particularly noting the words in the margin, and to interpret them by common sense, and he will see the chief outlines of the plan of salvation, and will understand the most important connections which exist between the several doctrines of Scripture' (p. 33).

This is his method as he discusses the question which forms the main part of his book—did Christ die for all men? or did He die only for many? Of the four words used in Holy Scripture to describe what Jesus Christ wrought by His Death, he dwells almost entirely on one, 'propitiation'—and though he allows that the only preposition used with ἱλασμός is ὑπέρ, *on behalf of*, yet he thinks that it is only used in such passages as 1 John iii. 16 and Rom. v. 6, 7, out of concession to human infirmity, and that common sense shows that the writers really meant ἀντί, *instead of*, when they wrote ὑπέρ. The passage, St. Matt. xx. 28, λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, is the one 'on which the weight of the proof of the Calvinistic doctrine of Christ's suretiship is placed,' and therefore in the other passages ἀντί must be understood instead of ὑπέρ. That Christ Jesus died in some way *on behalf of* all men, but only *instead of* many, *i.e.* of believers, and that similarly He is the Propitiation *instead of* believers, though

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also He is the Propitiation in some way *on behalf of* all men (pp. 43, 48, 55).

The Heavenly Intercession of our Lord, he thinks, is merely petitions offered for His people and in some way for the world—

'Were He to cease making intercession, those who have once been justified would straightway fall again into the hands of the law; they attain to their new condition by the plea of the propitiation, and by the continuance of that same propitiatory plea on their behalf do they continue in that condition. . . . He asked that the believer might be justified, but He must always pray and not faint in order that the believer may receive forgiveness for his daily shortcomings' (p. 203).

As one reads such words one cannot help recalling Dr. Milligan's beautiful definition of the Intercession and of the gracious work of the Holy Spirit in the souls of men which is its result.

There is hardly a reference to Redemption, Salvation, Reconciliation, or to the work of the Holy Spirit, and the writer seems to have no conception of the fellowship of 'believers' in the mystical Body of the Lord, in which even nonconformist divines see the fruits of the Propitiation are received. Nor does he refer to the life described in St. John vi., nor to the words of the Institution of the Eucharist. It is surely dangerous to take the English or Welsh New Testament as if it were some newly discovered volume, and work out from it a theory on so mysterious a subject as the Atonement, without one reference to the doctrine as handed down in the Christian Church, or to the work of teachers in the past.

If the book had been rearranged by the editor, and if it had been entitled the Propitiation of Christ, showing that it was intended to be a partial review, it would have been more useful.

V.—Patristic Literature.

The Agapé and the Eucharist in the Early Church. Studies in the History of the Christian Love-feasts. By J. F. Keating, D.D., Principal of the Theological College of the Scottish Episcopal Church. (London: Methuen and Co., 1901.)

There is no subject in connexion with the earliest history of the Church which is more obscure than that which this book undertakes to treat. The prevailing idea in regard to it is that the Agapé and the Eucharist were in some way 'combined' in the most primitive period, and that the one problem which has to be solved is the reason for their 'separation' and the precise moment at which it took place. We are told, for example, that the supper described in 1 Cor. xi. is an instance of their existence in combination and of the

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difficulties which were thereby produced; it is even hinted that St. Paul intended to separate them when he said: 'The rest will I set in order when I come.' The famous letter of Pliny is pointed to by some as indicating that they were already separated, by others as suggesting that the enforcement of the edict against clubs really led to their separation. In fact, every passage in the early literature in which Christians are said to meet for a common meal is treated as describing either an Agapé or a combination of an Agapé with a Eucharist.

In this general state of confusion the first demand which we must make of any fresh writer who sets himself to treat the subject is that he shall be strict in his employment of terms. What are the bare facts as to the employment of the word *agapé* in reference to a common meal? The first requisite is a *catena* of passages in which the word is so used. There is but one certain instance of this use in the New Testament. We find the word in Jude 12 in connexion with feasting; the parallel passage in 2 Peter has ἀπάταις in all manuscripts except B, which has some slight support from elsewhere in reading ἀγάπαις. It may be that the writer of this epistle did not know the technical use of ἀγάπη, which occurred in the document which he was employing, and that he accordingly wrote ἀπάταις (substituting 'in their deceivings' for 'in your Agapae'), which was emended at a later time from the parallel text. It is clear, then, that the New Testament offers us exceedingly little help in this preliminary stage of the inquiry; for we must severely refuse to consider at the outset any meals to which this name is not expressly implied. The first passage outside the New Testament that challenges attention is Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 8:

'Let no one without the bishop do ought of those things that pertain unto the Church. Let that be counted a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or him to whom he may intrust it. Wherever the bishop appears, there let the whole company (τὸ πλῆθος) be; as wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the universal Church (ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία). It is not permissible without the bishop either to baptize or to make an Agapé (ἀγάπην ποιεῖν): but whatever he may approve, this is also well-pleasing to God, that firm and valid may be all that ye do.'

Here we have, first, a mention of the Eucharist, and, later, a mention of baptism and the Agapé; and the question arises whether the Agapé includes the Eucharist or not. The context is indecisive; good scholars answer the question in different ways. Clearly it will not be wise to found a history of the Agapé on the assumption that the affirmative answer is the only one possible: for the passage would be quite intelligible if we interpreted ἀγάπην ποιεῖν simply in

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the light of Luke xiv. 13, ὅταν δοχὴν ποιῇς, κάλει πτωχούς, κ.τ.λ. We know from later documents that the bishop was given the place of honour at suppers for the poor, and more generally that the care of the poor was his responsibility.

Passing onwards, we find 'what is called the Agapé of Christians' attacked by Celsus in the second century; he had caught at the name, and felt sure that it implied some form of illegal association. Tertullian refers to it more than once; the chief passage is *Apol.* 39: 'Our supper shows its nature by its name: it is called by the Greek word for Love'; he goes on to speak of it as a help to the poor, and afterwards describes its proceedings in detail. Clement of Alexandria, so far from glorying in the name, protests against its use: 'Love has fallen from heaven into the soup!' Not only does he indignantly refuse it to the feasts of the Carpocratian heretics, but he objects to its being applied to Catholic feasts: 'The supper,' he says, 'is on account of *agapé*: but the supper is not *agapé*' (*Paed.* II. i. 6).

These are the leading passages in which the Agapé is expressly mentioned. They suggest the question, What was *agapé* supposed to mean when it was applied to a supper? Does it imply that the supper was so called because it was an outward symbol of the love which Christians should have to one another? or are we to infer that these were not so much 'love-feasts' as 'charity suppers,' designed to supply the needs of the poorer members of the Church? In the Apostolic Constitutions *agapé* is used for a definite act of 'charity' in the modern sense, for a charitable gift to a widow of the Church, apart from any supper at all. How is this use of the word related to the special use which we are considering?

Such questions are vital to the inquiry, which cannot be carried a step forward so long as we neglect them. More especially are we bound not to begin by assuming that every common meal of the early Christians is either an Agapé or an Agapé and Eucharist in combination. It is because these distinctions are not drawn that the book before us, in spite of its laborious collection of materials, and its recapitulation of the varying judgments of scholars, leaves us at the end exactly where we were at the beginning. Instead of the careful examination of the places in which the name Agapé occurs, we have a running comment on all passages in which any kind of common meal is mentioned in the New Testament and in early patristic writings, with the perpetual question whether the meal should be called a Eucharist, or an Agapé, or a combination of the two. Instead of an inquiry as to the possible senses in which *agapé* may have been applied to a meal, we are told in somewhat loose language: 'The

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very name "Agapé" shows undoubted connection with the new commandment ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους, and so with the Last Supper' (p. 40). Of course the discussion of the whole subject would not be complete without taking into consideration all the common meals of Christians; and in the later period to which the Church Orders belong it is quite permissible to regard those meals at which eucharistic or semi-eucharistic actions took place as being instances of what in certain places and at certain times bore the name of Agapae. But even here the terminology needs to be most strictly scrutinised. The writer, for instance, claims that he is the first to draw attention to the expression 'the Lord's Agapae' (*κυριακαῖς ἀγαπαῖς*) in the Canons of Hippolytus. Unfortunately the employment of the word *agapé* throughout the context referred to is due to the persistent determination of translators not to let us see the naked facts. At this particular point Haneberg renders the Arabic by *agapis*: but the translation made for Achelis has *agapis κυριακαῖς*. The corresponding Latin fragment published by Hauler gives us *cena dominica*, and thus agrees with the 'Egyptian Church Order,' where we find in the Coptic 'the δεῖπνον of the Lord.' When now we turn to the latest translation of the Canons of Hippolytus,[1] we find the enigmatic rendering 'bei den κυριακόν—Mählern'; and in a note on p. 221 Riedel says: 'I purposely do not render the word by Agapé as Haneberg does. *Valîmah* means simply a meal.' In fact, we appear to have in this passage, and in the parallel which occurs in the Canon immediately preceding, the term *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* applied to suppers which in some instances at least are *preceded* by 'a participation in the mysteries.' At any rate, the name 'Agapé' is not here used at all. Riedel's book came out in 1900, perhaps too late for Dr. Keating to see it. We may add that we sadly need an English translation of these Canons, which shall take into account Riedel's unpublished manuscript, and shall be made by a scholar who is acquainted at once with ecclesiastical documents and with Christian Arabic.

The author's scholarship must not be measured by the standard of accuracy which his printers have attained; for to their account must be set the '*manu facto*' of p. 72, and the innumerable misprints of the Greek quotations. Yet when allowance has been made on this score, we still feel some dissatisfaction. Few of us are quite secure in translating Tertullian. But Clement of Alexandria can generally be made out, if enough of the context is read: our author's

[1] Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, pp. 221 ff.

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power of understanding him is only superior to that of the opponent with whom he crosses swords. Again, Julian the Apostate is assuredly not a witness 'to the increasing dangers' with which the Agapé was surrounded (p. 145) when he says that by means of it Christians 'led the faithful into atheism' (πιστοὺς ἀνήγαγον εἰς ἀθεότητα), *i.e.* led good heathens into godless ways. It is possible that we do the author an injustice in our interpretation of what he has written; but if he meant something else he should have made it more plain.

Though the book is disappointing, it is not to be neglected. Its most serious faults are not peculiar to the writer; they seem specially to beset the study of this particular problem. Dr. Keating has provided the means of readily discovering most of the materials available for the investigation of the subject, and we may be grateful to him for his plunge into the obscure.

Periodicals.

The Journal of Theological Studies (April, 1902. Vol. III. No. 11. Macmillan and Co.). 'The Manifold Unity of Christian Life,' by the Rev. P. N. Waggett, S.S.J.E. 'The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist,' by the Rev. G. A. Box. Arguments are produced to show that the 'Kiddûsh,' or weekly feast, and not the Paschal Supper, was the occasion of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. 'The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons,' by C. H. Turner. Refutes the arguments of Dr. Friedrich, who considers the canons are a forgery. Documents.—The Commentary of Origen upon the Epistle to the Ephesians. Notes and Studies are full of interest; they include a note upon 'Origin and the date of Pseudo-Clement,' by John Chapman. The writer, after careful examination of the subject, is led to fix the date of Pseudo-Clement after Origen and shortly before Eusebius. Also a few remarks deserving attention on 'The Mohammedan Gospel of Barnabas.'

The Expositor (Sixth Series. Nos. XXVIII.-XXX. April-June, 1902. Hodder and Stoughton). 'The Messiah of Old Testament Prophecy and Apocalyptic, and the Christ of the New Testament,' by Professor Charles, D.D. 'The Growth in Wisdom and Grace,' by the Rev. Alfred Garvie. One of a series of 'Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus.' 'The Minor Prophets,' by the Very Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D. A short summary of the contents of each. 'On a Recent Emendation in the Text of St. Peter,' by Professor J. Rendel Harris. The writer informs us that his own reading of 'Enoch' (1 Peter iii. 24) had, unknown to him, been previously substituted by Cramer. The reasons, however, given by the latter for the emendation were scarcely conclusive. 'Dialogues on the Christian Prophets,' by the Rev. E. C. Selwyn, D.D. 'Henry Drummond,' by J. Y. Simpson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E. 'As a type of modern Christianity.' 'Ruth: a Hebrew Idyl,' by the Rev. Armstrong Black, D.D. 'The Vocation Accepted,' by the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie. 'The Interpretation of Habakkuk 1-2,' by W. B. Stevenson. 'A Puritan and a Broad Churchman in the Second Century,' by the Rev. Joseph B. Mayor. Tertullian and Clement are selected as types. Tertullian—severe-minded, ascetic, swift to condemn even to eternal

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punishment—forms a striking parallel to the Puritan of after centuries. 'Barnabas and his Genuine Epistle,' by Professor Vernon Bartlett. The writer ascribes the Epistle to the Hebrews to St. Barnabas. 'St. Paul on Life and Immortality,' by the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie. 'Psalms of the East and West,' by the Rev. M. Kaufmann. 'Is Second Peter a Genuine Epistle to the Churches of Samaria?' by Professor R. A. Faulkner.

The Critical Review (Vol. XII. March and May, 1902. Nos. 2 and 3. Williams and Norgate). The March number contains, among other articles, 'The Present Position of Critical Opinion on the Book of Daniel,' by the Rev. J. A. Selbie, in which he states that the Maccabean date is now generally accepted by scholars, and adds the principal arguments in favour of this opinion. Among books noticed are 'Rainy's "The Ancient Catholic Church,"' by Professor Henry Cowan; 'Wundt's "The Principles of Morality,"' by Professor R. Mackintosh; 'Meses' "Ethics, Descriptive and Explanatory,"' by Professor Iverach. The May number contains criticisms by Principal Salmond (editor) of 'The Revised Bible, American and English,' and of Kidd's 'Principles of Western Civilisation;' another interesting article deals with Cremer's Reply to Harnack.

The English Historical Review (No. 66. Vol. XVII. April, 1902. Longmans, Green, and Co.). 'Tírechán Memoir of St. Patrick,' by Professor Bury, LL.D. An interesting and scholarly article. 'Samuel Rawson Gardiner,' by Professor York Powell, LL.D. Among the Notes 'Dean Colet and Archbishop Warham,' by P. S. Allen.

The Classical Review (Vol. XVI. April to June. Nos. 3–5. David Nutt). The June number contains an interesting article on 'Recent Excavations in Rome,' by Thomas Ashby, jun. Might we, as taking an interest in classical literature, and anxious (so far as time allows) to keep up with modern work, express a wish that the editor would allow subjects other than textual criticism and grammar to occupy his pages? Surely English scholarship is not as narrow as this periodical seems to suggest.

The Dublin Review (Vol. 130. No. 201. April, 1902. Burns and Oates). 'Coronation Rites,' by the Rev. Fr. Columba Edmonds, O.S.B. 'Political Economy of Leo XIII.,' by C. S. Devas. Explains the views expressed by the Pope on various important social questions. 'St. Gregory of Nazianzen, from his Letters,' by the Rev. J. Freeland. The letters reveal to us the natural and human side of an anchorite life. 'The Foundations of Philosophy,' by T. F. Willis. The writer seeks to prove that the only true, the only logical philosophy is based upon the existence of a personal God. 'Scottish Cistercian Houses,' by Dom Michael Barrett, O.S.B. The most important article is that on 'Editing and Reviewing,' by Dom Gasquet. The attention of the Clarendon Press, the Cambridge University Press, and the Hampshire Record Society is called to the charges made against them.

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XIV. April 1902. No. 55. Macmillan and Co.). 'Israel and Totemism,' by Stanley A. Cook. The writer examines the arguments employed by Robertson Smith in favour of Semitic Totemism and against it by Zapletal. Though showing that the latter often arrives at unwarranted conclusions, Mr. Cook does not attempt himself to form an opinion. 'Saadyana. Third Article,' by Professor S. Schechter. 'What Jews may learn from Harnack,' by Dr. Felix Perles. In this article it is claimed that Harnack, having cast off all the essential dogmas of Christianity, has

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unconsciously arrived at Judaism. 'From the Lieder und Gedanken of Frug,' translated by Miss Helena Frank. 'Der Südarabische Siddur und Jahyâ Sâlih's Commentar 3 demselben,' by Professor W. Bacher. 'Descriptive Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. of the Montefiore Library. III.,' by Dr. H. Hirschfeld.

The Contemporary Review (Nos. 436–438. April–June, 1902. Horace Marshall and Son). 'The Non-Episcopal Churches,' by Vernon Bartlett. The writer maintains that the Church cannot, in the face of history, persist in denying the validity of non-episcopal ordination. That she does so is because she feels her whole position endangered if this one point be admitted. 'The Standard of Orthodoxy in the Anglican Church,' by the Rev. J. Gamble. It is argued that inability to accept the existing standard of orthodoxy is the primary reason that withholds men from entering holy orders. In the May number: 'The Government Education Bill,' by Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley. In this article, written from a Secularist standpoint, the Bill is strongly attacked, the main ground of complaint being that *Church*, as well as undenominational, schools should receive support. 'The Evangelical Basis of Free Churchism,' by P. T. Forsyth, D.D. It is contended that a Free Church cannot be a National Church, because dependence on the State limits the action of Divine Grace. This is the main reason why there can be no union between the Free Churches and the Established Church. In the June number: 'The Reformed Church of France in the Nineteenth Century,' by T. Joyce.

The Quarterly Review (No. 309. April, 1902. John Murray). 'The Sacred Books of the East,' a brief but interesting account of the inspired writings of Brahminism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Taoism, Mohammedanism. 'Zionism and Anti-Semitism.' The writer has no sympathy with the Zionist Movement. 'Two Oxford Historians,' a short sketch of J. R. Green and S. R. Gardiner. 'The Local Option Education Bill.' Satisfaction is expressed with the education project as a whole, but the 'local option clause' is regarded as a vital defect which, if allowed to remain, cannot fail to neutralise the efficacy of the measure.

The Edinburgh Review (No. 400. April, 1902. Longmans, Green, and Co.). 'John Richard Green.' An interesting sketch, showing us especially the religious attitude of the historian.

The Indian Church Review (XIV. 1 January, 1902. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, and Co.). 'Higher Education in India,' by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Madras. 'Bishop Daniel Wilson,' Eugene Stock, C.M.S. 'The Emancipation of the Church in India.' 'The Malabar Syrian Rites of Baptism and Confirmation,' by the Rev. L. B. Howard, M.A.

The Monthly Review (April, 1902). 'Sport and Cruelty.' Editorial. A discussion on the Bishop of Hereford's Bill. May: 'The Education Bill,' by Cloudesley Brereton. In the opinion of the writer of this article the Bill presents the only possible solution of the education problem, and would establish an adequate educational system in the place of the existing confusion. Those who for selfish motives are agitating against it are therefore incurring a grave responsibility. 'Art and Religion,' by Roger E. Fry. Art owes a debt to religion, both for its subjects and patronage. The writer suggests that modern Art would be improved if the Church would again become an Art-patron.

Economic Review (xxi. 2. April 1902). 'Co-operation as a Factor in the Housing Problem,' by Henry W. Wolff. The writer enlarges upon the Archbishop's advice, that the poor should co-operate in the building of their houses.

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and shows further how this might be rendered practicable. 'The Small Holdings of Fir Forest, Worcestershire,' by the Rev. G. F. Eyre. It is advised that, in order to demonstrate how such small holdings may be developed, the parish priest should take up farming, that in this as in other things he may be an example to his flock.

Studi Religiosi (II. I.–III. January to June, 1902. Firenze: Biblioteca Scientifico-Religiosa, Via Ricasoli, 21). 'Il "Credo" ossia l' Origine del Simbolo degli Apostoli,' by G. Semeria. 'Le odierne Tendenze dell' Islamismo,' by C. A. Nallino. 'Il Congresso di Storia delle Religioni a Parigi,' by S. Minocchi. 'Pubblicazioni dell' Accademia Leone XIII. in Tortona,' by P. Lugano: 'La Questione di Divorzo nella Bibbia,' by S. Minocchi. 'La Teologia Bizantina,' by P. Aurelio Palmieri. 'Le vie romane della Palestina,' by L. Grammatica. 'Nuovi Studi sulla Religione preellenica,' by N. Terzaghi. 'La "Leggenda Antica" di san Francesco d' Assisi.' 'Superstizioni ed usanze dei Selvaggi Livuani, tradotto dal tedesco da Paolina Lasinio,' by P. Bley, M.S.C. 'Origini e vita storica della lingua ebraica,' by S. Minocchi. 'San Miniato a Firenze, Storia e Leggenda,' by P. Lugano.

Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift (XIII. 4–6. 1902. April, May, June. Erlangen and Leipzig. Deichert). 'Der Kampf um die leibliche Auferstehung des Herrn,' von Pastor Horn in Mirow. 'Die Stelle II. Kor. v. 21 in der Predigten Novatians,' von Prof. D. Haussleiter in Greisswald. 'Zum Petrusevangelium I,' von Pastor Stocks in Arnis bei Kiel. 'Beredsamkeit und Stil nach Pascal,' von Lic. theol. Dr. Kurt Warmuth in Dresden. 'Gottesgeist und Menschengeist im alten Testament,' von Lic. Köberle in Erlangen. 'Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs,' von Prof. Klostermann in Kiel. 'Die bisher unbekannte Schwäbisch-Haller Handschrift der deutschen Augsburgischen Konfession,' von Prof. Dr. D. Paul Tschackert in Göttingen.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (1902. No. 1. Paris: A. Picard et Fils). 'La Russie et l'Orient Chrétien durant ces derniers mois.' 'Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie,' by Fr. Tournebize. 'Les "Projets" de Joachim III,' by R. P. H. Lammens, S.J. 'Les Etudes islamiques en Russie,' by R. P. Aurélio Palmiéri. 'Histoire de Jean Bar Aphtonia,' by M. l'Abbé F. Nau. 'Vie de Sainte Marine.' Texte Copte Publié et Traduit par M. l'Abbé Hyvernat. 'Le Pèlerinage de la Mecque en 1901,' by R. P. H. Lammens, S.J. 'L'Imagination Musulmane en Turquie.' 'L'Allemagne en Turquie.'

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review (Vol. XIII. April 1902. No. 50. Philadelphia: MacCalla & Co.). 'Old Testament Discussion and Princeton Opinion,' John D. Davis. 'Belief as an Ethical Postulate,' by Edward H. Griffin. 'The Book of Daniel,' by George C. M. Douglas. Deals with the date and authorship of this book. The writer thinks the evidence conclusive in favour of its genuineness. 'The Printing of the Westminster Confession,' by Benjamin B. Warfield. 'Archbishop Benson,' by Dunlop Moore. We have seldom read a criticism more narrow-minded in every way. 'An Oberlin Admirer of Ritschl,' by Caspar Wistar Hodge, jun. 'Thomas Henry Huxley,' by George Macloskie. 'The New Psychology,' by Henry E. Dosker.

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. VII. No. 2. April 1902. The University of Chicago Press). 'The Present Religious Condition of Japan,' by Rev. Clay Macauley, D.D. The writer lays stress upon the fundamental change which, in the last fifty years, has become evident in the religious attitude of Japan. The spirit of inquiry has awakened; the old religions have to a great

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extent lost their hold. The one dominant all-powerful sentiment is an intense religious patriotism. As least antagonistic to this spirit, the writer thinks that Protestantism will be the form of Christianity which will ultimately become the recognised religion of Japan. 'The Transfiguration Story,' a study of the sources of our Synoptic Gospels, by Prof. Benjamin W. Bacon, D.D. 'The Jewish Reformation,' by Rabbi Gustav Gottheil, D.D. An account of the Jewish rationalistic movement originating with Moses Mendelssohn. 'The Literary Work of Joseph Henry Thayer,' by Prof. C. J. H. Roper, D.D. An interesting biographical sketch of an able scholar and indefatigable teacher. 'New Movement within French Protestantism.' Describes the work and system of Menegoz. 'The Physical Relation of Man to God among the Modern Semites.'

The Catholic World (April-June 1902. New York). 'What Wage is a Living Wage?' by the Rev. John A. Ryan. 'A Synthesis of Two Schools of Thought,' by Albert Reynaud. 'A New England Conversion.' 'Reflections for Ordinary Christians,' by Albert Reynaud. 'Concerning the Life of Christ,' by the Rev. Walter Elliot, C.S.P. 'Is the National Federation of Catholic Societies Desirable?' by the Rev. William P. Cantwell. The writer of the article considers on the whole that it is. 'The Present Religious Crisis in France,' by C. M. Barker. 'Church, State, and School,' by the Rev. Thomas McMillan. Although self-supporting denominational schools exist, no sort of religious instruction is given in the public schools. It is thought that this deficiency is the cause of many of the existing social evils. 'The Working-man's Apostolate,' by Father Cuthbert. 'The Mystery of Grace.' 'Hymns and Legends of Catholic Scotland,' by Mary Catherine Crowley. 'Is there any System of Public School that would satisfy Catholics?' by Lorenzo J. Markof. 'Pope Leo XIII. and the Bishops of America.' 'Reunion.' The writer speaks of the desire of Anglicans for union with the dissenters on one hand and the Roman Church on the other. He is naturally somewhat gratified by the recently expressed views of Canon Hensley Henson on the subject. 'The Amazing Church,' by W. F. P. Stockley. This is the Church of England, attacked on the favourite ground of the divergence of faith in its members.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (III. No. 2. April 1902. Louvain). 'L'Origine du Symbole des Apôtres,' by G. Voisin. The writer rejects the legendary origin derived from Rufinus, that the creed was drawn up at Jerusalem by the twelve apostles, regarding it as a composition of the beginning of the second century. 'Les Premiers Chrétiens furent-ils persécutés par edits généraux ou par mesures de police?' by C. Callewaert. 'Remi Drieux, Evêque de Bruges, et les troubles des Pays-Bas.'

Revue Biblique Internationale (XI. No. 2. April 1902. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre). 'Les Chapitres IX-XIV du livre de Zacharie,' by M. A. van Hornacker. 'Frammenti urbinati d' un' antica versione del libro II de' Maccabei,' editi ed illustrati da G. Mercati. 'Etudes sur les religions sémitiques. Les Morts,' by R. P. Lagrange. 'L'épilogue canonique du second évangile,' by R. P. van Kasteren. 'La controverse minéo-sabéo-biblique,' R. P. Lagrange. 'Restitution d'une inscription grecque,' R. P. Rousselle. 'Chronique—Les fouilles du Cénacle. Un nouvel ossuaire juif—Le tombeau à ossuaires du mont des Oliviers,' by R. P. Vincent. Among the 'Recensions' is a criticism of Dr. Wordsworth's 'Ministry of Grace.' On the whole it is favourable.

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Books Received, Pamphlets, Reprints, Etc.

From the S.P.C.K.

Our only Hope. By the Bishop of Quebec. 6*d.*

Deeds of Faith. By the late Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D. We are delighted that the excellent historical tales of Dr. Neale should be reprinted.

The Pictured Miracles of Our Lord.

The Pictured Parables of Our Lord.

The Use and Abuse of Isolated Facts in Controversy. By the Rev. T. A. Lacey. An admirable paper.

The Official Year-Book of the Church of England.

Reasons for being Churchmen. By the Rev. James Parker.

A Concise Instruction on Christian Doctrine and Practice. By the Rev. W. Crisp.

The 'Te Deum,' its Structure, &c. By the Bishop of Salisbury.

Special Forms of Service for the Diocese of Winchester.

Weekly Church Teaching for the Infants. By Mrs. C. D. Francis.

And other smaller tracts, &c.

Coronation Literature.

Sermons for the King's Coronation. 2*s.* 6*d.* (Skeffington and Son.)

The English Coronation Service. By F. C. Eeles. 6*d.* (Mowbray and Co.)

Crowned to Serve. By the Rev. Charles Bullock, B.D. 1*s.* 6*d.* (Home Words Publishing Office.)

How and Why Our King will be Crowned. By Canon Hammond, LL.B. 7*s.* 6*d.* per 100. (Skeffington and Son.)

Hymns for the Coronation of King Edward VII. 1*s.* (Skeffington and Son.)

A Coronation Souvenir. By the Rev. S. Baring Gould. 6*d.* (Skeffington and Son.)

Imperial and Royal Coronations. By the Very Rev. Archimandrite Eustathius Metallinos, Priest of the Greek Church. 6*s.* 6*d.* (London: Henry Frowde.)

From Methuen and Co.

A Manual of Consolation. 2*s.*

A Little Book of Life and Death. 1*s.* 6*d.*

From Rivingtons.

The Kingdom and the Empire. By the Rev. Orme Assheton, M.A. 2*s.*

The Hebrew Monarchy, Saul—David. By the Rev. A. R. Whitham, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*

We have also received the following:

A Companion to the Prayer Book. By the Bishop of Vermont. 1*s.* 6*d.* (Mowbray and Co.)

The Divine Ordinance of Prayer. By the Rev. W. Hay M. H. Aitken, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.* (Wells Gardner, Darton, and Co.)

Outlines of Meditations for use in Retreat. By the Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.* (Longmans, Green, and Co.)

The Harmony of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. By the Rev. Melville Scott, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.* (Bemrose and Sons, Ltd.)

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The South African War and the 'Boer' Operator. By C. W. SMITH. 2*s.* (King and Son.)

The Athanasian Creed. Should it be recited? And is it true? By the Rev. F. NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, D.D. 1*s.* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co.)

The Beautiful Life of an Ideal Priest. By the DEAN OF LICHFIELD. 6*d.* (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Co.)

Russia, England, and Germany. By the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, D.D. (Chapman and Hall.)

The Scriptural Limitations of the Friends' Doctrine of the Sacraments. By WILLIAM TALLACK. 2*d.* (Headley Bros.)

The Eschatological Pendulum. By WILLIAM TALLACK. (Headley Bros.)

Facts about Flagging. 6*d.* By JOSEPH COLLINSON. (William Reeves.)

Table? or Altar? 2*d.* (Elliot Stock.)

From Macmillan and Co. we have received the fourth edition of the *Epistles of St. John*, by DR. WESTCOTT (price 12*s.* 6*d.*), recently noticed by us with his other works.

We receive every month a copy of *The Mission World*, which professes to be 'a monthly survey of the Missions at home and abroad of all the Churches.' We have seldom met a more untrue title. The Missionaries of the Roman Church are more numerous, often more successful, and certainly more self-denying than those of any other body, but they are entirely omitted. Instead of records of them *The Mission World* devotes its space to narrow attacks on the religious opinions of those who differ from its own views. 'The Protestant Reformation Society' and 'The Vatican and Protestantism' have no place in a missionary periodical.

We have only space in this number to acknowledge three very important books. The fourth and concluding volume of Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (T. and T. Clark). We must congratulate the editor on the successful completion of his laborious undertaking. The third volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (A. and C. Black). Both these works will be carefully examined in our next number. Also the first two (Vol. 25 and 26) of the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (A. and C. Black, and the 'Times,' Printing House Square). In this we propose to examine carefully the religious articles.

We have also received *Longman's Certificate Forms*, edited by the Rev. S Scragg, M.A. Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials (Longmans, Green, and Co.). They are the best printed forms that we have met with.

We have also to acknowledge the receipt of the *Pilot* (which has been now reduced to 3*d.*) and occasionally of numbers of the *Saturday Review*. It is a great gain that there should be two weekly papers in which church and religious matters should be discussed with fairness and intelligence. There is a certain element of superiority in the attitude of the *Pilot* towards the Education question, but the fairness of its tone and temper, and the hospitality that it gives to the more philosophic attempts at justifying the Nonconformist position, are admirable.

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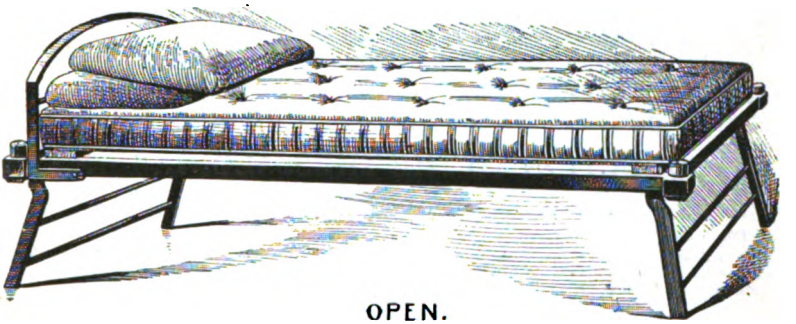

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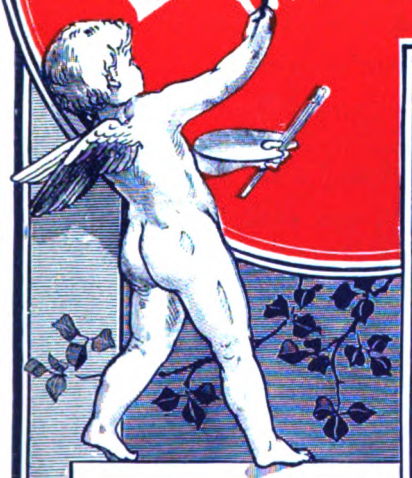

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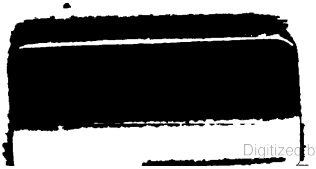

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